00021056

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD IRVING,

MINISTER OF

THE NATIONAL SCOTCH CHURCH, LONDON.

Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence.

BY

MRS. OLIPHANT.

21056

"Whether I live, I live unto the Lord; and whether I die, I die unto the Lord: living or dying, I am the Lord's." Amen.

YY-c.-33

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
SUCCESSORS TO HENRY COLBURN,
13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1862.

00021056

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

1828.

Sermons on the Trinity — Unconscious of any Doubt on the Subject — The Fellowship of Christ — Discoveries made by the Rev. Mr. Cole — A theological Spy — Follows the Preacher to the Vestry — First Accusation of Heresy — The Orthodox Doctrine of the Church — Irving's Manner of Meeting the Attack — The Cloud like a Man's Hand — Apology for the Church of Scotland — Irving carries his Message to his own Country — Plan of his Journey — Annan Market — His Labours among his own People — Arrival in Great King Street — St. Andrew's Church besieged by the Crowd — Excitement in Edinburgh — Dissatisfaction of Chalmers — The Statesman and the Visionary — Uses of the Impracticable — Religious Thought in Scotland — Campbell of Row — A new Friend — Irving's Faculty of Learning — Rosneath — Row — A. J. Scott — Accident at Kirkcaldy — Cruel Reproaches — Irving visits Perth — Returns to London — Immediate Return to his usual Labours — Happiness in returning — The *Last Days* — Irving's Anxieties — Opposition to his Doctrine of the Second Advent — Improvement in his Wife's Health — His Anxiety for her Return — Pause in the Saturday Occupation — Consultations about Prophecy — Publishing Negotiations — A Bible Society Meeting — Anticipates "Casting out of the Synagogue" — His Birthday — Instructions and Prayers — The Lost Tribes — Resignation to God's Will — Arrangement about his Trinity Sermons — The Bishop of Chester — Contract with Publishers — Tale of the Martyrs — Excess of Health — Harrogate — A true Apostolical Church — The Year's Work — Pastoral Duties — The Threshold of a new Future — High Anticipations — Vaughan of Leicester — Second Albury Conference — Dr. Martin's Account of its Results — Mutterings of the coming Storm — Trust of his People . . . . . Page 1

CHAPTER II.

1829.

Degree of D.D. — The great Hope of the Church — Form of Baptism — Irving's Belief in his own Orthodoxy — Misstatements of his Doctrine — The *Morning Watch* — Words of Consolation — Judd Place — Visit to Edinburgh — Preparations for his Course of Lectures — The two little Ballad-singers — Annan — Edinburgh — The General Assembly — He appears at the Bar — His Commission rejected — Lectures in Hope Park Chapel — Preaches in Dumfriesshire — Employment of his Summer Holiday — In Glasgow — Bathgate — "God loves you" — Incident in Kirkcaldy — His Views of Church and State — Dedication of the Book — The Representatives of three Generations — Whisper of "Heretic" — His Circle in London — The Journeymen Bakers — Family Sorrows — Joseph Wolff's two Greeks — Their Education and Maintenance — Weekly Issue of Lectures — The third Conference at Albury — Notes of the Conference — Communion . . . . . Page 66

CHAPTER III.

1830.

A new Light — Influence of Scott — Mary Campbell — Campbell of Row — Religious Fermentation in Clydesdale — Tract on our Lord's Human Nature — The Man of Sorrows — Beginning of the Conflict — Gift from Friends in Edinburgh — The *Christian Instructor* — Irving's Letter to Mr. Dods — Statement of his own Belief — Invitation to brotherly Conference — Heart-sickness — Letter to Dr. Chalmers — Irving's Confidence in his Judgment — Chalmers' timid Silence — Prosecution of Mr. Maclean — Unfair Inquisition — Proceedings in Mr. Scott's Case — Deliverance of the Presbytery — Advice in the Dreghorn Case — Necessity for Caution and Patience — Presbytery of London — "God send better Days" — Fernicarry — Mary Campbell — The Gift of Tongues — The first Prophetess — The Macdonalds — The Gift of Healing — The Manifestations believed by many — Eagerly hailed by Irving — Dr. Chalmers in London — Irving, Chalmers, and Coleridge — Fears for the Church of Scotland — Irving's renewed Appeal to his "Master" — Farewell of Irving and Chalmers — Little Samuel's Illness — Irving's new Surroundings — His miraculous Heart — Albury — A faithful Wife — The chief Physician

— Serving God for Nought — Resignation — Irving's Visit to Ireland — Powerscourt — Dublin — Little Maggie's Song — "Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings" — Congratulations — — Note on Samuel Martin's Bible — Seamen's Asylum — Movement in the Presbytery of London — Dutifulness to the Church — A contumacious Brother — Irving separates from the Presbytery — Gives up his proposed Visit to Scotland — Fright and Agreement of the Presbytery — His Isolation — Statement by his Kirk-Session — Petition to the King — Lord Melbourne Page 102

CHAPTER IV.

1831.

Church Conflicts — Reference to the Mother Church — The Usury of Tears — Irving's Repetition of his Belief — *Christ's Holiness in Flesh* — Prayer for the General Assembly — "In Labours abundant" — His Attitude and Aspect — On the Threshold of Fate — Meeting of the General Assembly — Position assumed by Mr. Scott — The Assembly's Decisions — Irving's Determination to defend his Rights — Peculiarity of the two Cases of Heresy — Not heretical Opinion but realizing Faith — Condemnation of Irving's Doctrine — Prayers for the Outpouring of the Spirit — Inspiration of the Last Days — First Appearance of the Tongues — His Prepossession — The Prayer of Faith — The Answer of God — The Fulfilment of Promise — Trying the Spirits — His unjudicial Mind — The Baptism of the Holy Ghost — Inevitable Separation — Utterances permitted at Morning Meetings — Probation — Excitement in the Congregation — Crisis — The Matter taken out of his Hands — First Utterance in the Sunday Worship — Commotion at the Evening Service — The Tumults of the People — Comments of the Press — Increase to the Church — Order of the Morning Service — Character of the Tongues — Supposed to be existing Languages — Described by Irving — The Utterances in English — Their Influence — Virtuous Indignation — His Determination at all Hazards — Withdraws the last Restraint — Impossibility of drawing Back — Remonstrances of his Friends — First Meeting of the Trustees — "If I perish, I perish" — Affectionate Conspiracy — Future Order of Worship — Full Statement of his Intentions — Publications of the Year — Original Standards of the Church — The Westminster Confession — Recalls the Church of Scotland to herself — Papers in the *Morning Watch* — Irving and the *Record* — The Trustees — The Kirk-Session — His Remonstrance — Importunities of his Friends 167

CHAPTER V.

1832.

"Bedlam" and "Chaos" — Robert Baxter — Further Development of the Power — The Two Witnesses — Authoritative Interpretation of Prophecy — Baxter's Narrative — Inner World Revealed by it — Attitude of Irving — Retains his Influence as Pastor — Mystic Atmosphere — Evangelists — Inevitable Progress — The Trustees take Counsel's Opinion — Irving's Public Intimation of the Danger — His Advice to his People — Answer to the Trustees — Sir Edward Sugden's Advice — The foregone Conclusion of the Presbytery — Their Authority finally appealed to — The Life of the Accused — "Reproach hath broken my Heart" — The Angel of the Church — "Unwearied and Unceasing" — Fundamental Question involved — Last Remonstrance — Warning — Not the Shadow of a Doubt — Banishing the Voice of Jesus — Impassioned Appeal — The Trustees' Complaint — Meeting of the Presbytery — Recantation of Baxter — Beginning of the Trial — Examination of Witnesses: The Elder — Appeal to the Scriptures — Examination continued: The Prophet — "Did you hear any Conversation anywhere?" — Calling Names — Examination continued: The Deacon — Sudden blandness of the Examiners — Conclusion of the Evidence — Unanimity of the Witnesses — The Disenchanted Prophet — Unmoved by Discouragement — Order of Irving's Defence — The Head of every Man — An undivided Allegiance — Records of Ecclesiastical Antiquity — The Conscience of the Presbytery — Character of the Evidence — Speech of the Accuser — Irving's Reply — Whether the Work be of the Holy Ghost — The Prophetic Character — "Dishonesty" — Tempted to withdraw from the Contest — Prefers his Duty as a Pastor to his Feelings — Standeth or falleth to his own Master — A Lamb of the Flock — Decision of the Presbytery — Their Recklessness — Scraps of the Confession — The Character of Presbyterian Worship — What could they do? — Sentence — Irving "unfit" to remain a Minister — Triumph of the Press — *Times* and *Record* — The Fast-day — Closing of the Church — Gray's Inn Road — Out-door Preaching — The Lost Child — Affectionate Recollections — The Scotch Psalms — Islington Green — Princely Hospitality — How to overcome Disease by Faith — Sufferings — Resolved to Fall at his Post — Victory over the Body — State of the Public Mind — Reported "falling off" in Irving's Mind — The *Morning Watch* the Organ of the Church — The Sick Child — Invitation to the Kirkcaldy Relations — Prospered by the Lord — The Despised in Israel — Development — A new Order of Things

— Irving announces certain Changes — Arrangement of the Church in Newman Street — Opening Services — Manifestations — Their Character — Another Assault — Weariness . . . Page 231

CHAPTER VI.

1833.

Inquiries of Mr. Campbell — Irving's Reply — The Fountain of Sweet Waters — Letter to Alan Ker — Position of the Angel — God's Footsteps are not known — Irving's Mode of explaining himself — His Reasonableness — Contrast between Irving and Baxter — Doctrine of "the Humanity" — Fighting in the Dark — Annan Presbytery — Incompetence of the Judges — Irving's Arrival in Annan — David and Goliath — Irving's Defence — The Captain of our Salvation — Decision of the Presbytery — Scene in Annan Church — Irving leaves the Church — Deposition — His Letter to his People — His Deliverance — Nithsdale and Annandale — Set aside by his own Church — Re-ordination — The Christian Priest — "Our dear Father's Letter" — Another Death — Infant Faith — An American Spectator — The *Morning Watch* — Conclusion of that Periodical — Irving's Difficulties — An embarrassing Restraint — The Communion in Newman Street — Many Trials — Expectation of Power from on High — Walking in Darkness 329

CHAPTER VII.

1834 — THE END.

Sent to Edinburgh — Is no longer his own Master — Exhaustion — Tender Courtesy — Re-appearance out of the Shadows — Projects his Journey — Leaves London — The Hand of the Lord upon him — Bridgenorth — His ancient Counsellor — Letter to his Children — The Royal Oak — Beauty and Blessedness of the Land — Young Clergymen — Healing both to Body and Soul — Satisfied in beholding God's Works — Birthday Letter — Well-sunned, well-aired Mountains — Cader Idris — Care not to take his Wife "out of her Place" — Beddgelert — Beginning of the End — Legend "for Maggie" — Renewed Illness — Yearns for his Wife — Well with the just Man at the Last — Alarm of his Relations — Voyage to Greenock — Enters Glasgow — His last Letter — Flesh and Heart faint and fail — His Certainty of Recovery — At the Gates of Heaven — Amen! — He died and was buried — A Saint and Martyr 369

EDWARD IRVING.

CHAPTER I.

1828.

THE year 1828 commenced amid those domestic shadows, and had not progressed far before the public assaults, in which Irving's life was henceforward to be passed, began. In the early beginning of the year he had prepared for publication three volumes of his collected sermons; the first volume setting forth the very heart and essence of his teaching, his lofty argument and exposition of the Trinity, and its combined action in the redemption of man; the second, his conception of the manner of applying Divine truth as symbolised in the Parable of the Sower; and the third, his views on national and public subjects. When this work, however, was all but ready for the press, one of the spies of orthodoxy hit upon a grand and unthought of heresy, in the splendid expositions which the congregation had received without a suspicion, and which Irving himself had preached with the fullest conviction that the sentiments he uttered were believed by all

orthodox Christians. Up to this period his works had been arraigned before less solemn tribunals; failures in taste, confusion of metaphors, and an incomprehensible and undiminishable popularity, which no attack could lessen, and which piqued the public oracles, had been brought against him, one time or another, by almost every publication in the kingdom. But even when a man is fully convicted of being more eloquent and less cautious than his neighbours, when he is proved to fascinate the largest audiences, and utter the boldest denunciations, and give the most dauntless challenges to all opponents, with the additional aggravations of a remarkable person, and some peculiarities of appearance, these things are still not enough to make him a heretic.

The religious world had long been shy of a man so impracticable; but yet had been forced, by way of availing itself of his genius and popularity, to afford him still its countenance, and still to ask anniversary sermons, though with fear and trembling, from the greatest orator of the time. These anniversary sermons, however, were so little to be depended upon—were so much occupied with the truth, and so little with the occasion, or the subscription lists—that he was not, and could not be popular among the religious managers and committee people, who make a business of the propagation of the gospel. He was a man of a different fashion from their favourite model, by no means to be brought into conformity with it; and they regarded him afar off with jealous eyes. At last the inevitable collision occurred. Irving's sermons on the Trinity were uttered to an audience so unaware

of any error in them that, by special desire of the office-bearers of the congregation, they were placed first in the volumes which their author prepared as a complete manifestation of his varied labours. The sermons themselves had been preached some years before; they are mentioned in *Fraser's Magazine*, in the *éloge* pronounced upon him after his death, as having been first delivered in Hatton Garden, where no man hinted heresy; and Irving himself describes the gradual composition of several of them in his journal-letters in 1825; they were not, however, ready for publication till the beginning of the year 1828; and seem to have been selected in all simplicity, and, as the preface relates, with no controversial meaning, "as being designed for the instruction of the church committed to my ministerial and pastoral care, of whom I knew not that any one entertained a doubt upon that great head of Christian faith." These sermons, though of a very different character from those bursts of bold and splendid oratory by which the preacher had made his great reputation, are perhaps more remarkable than any of his other productions. How any man could carry a large audience breathless through those close and lofty arguments, and lead them into the solemn courts of heaven to trace the eternal covenant there, preserving the mighty strain of intelligence and attention through hours of steadfast soaring into the ineffable mysteries, is a question which I find it hard to solve. But he seems to have done it; and all unaware of the fact that underneath, in the cloudy world below, certain sharp eyes, unable to follow *him*, could yet follow and discern where his brilliant way cut through divers floating clouds of doctrine,

he pursued his eagle's path straight into the sunshine. That loftiest, splendid theme unfolded before his intent gaze into a grand harmonious system of God-manifestation. It was not doctrine that he unfolded. It was the vivid reality of the sublimest historic facts, a Godhead in combined and harmonious action, working forth, not the salvation of individual man by any expedient, however sublime, but the grand overthrow and defeat of evil in a nature which had sinned. In this light the man who embraced his Lord with all the fervour of human affections, as well as with all the spiritual love and faith of which his soul was capable, perceived, with a depth of tender adoration not to be described, that wonderful reality of union which made his Lord not only his Saviour, but his brother and kinsman, the true everlasting Head of the nature He had assumed. Controversy was not in his mind, nor any desire after a novel view of the truth he uttered. He "knew not that any one entertained a doubt upon that great head of Christian faith." And with all the simplicity of undoubting belief and confidence he set forth the Saviour in whom he trusted,— a Lord noways abstracted from the life-blood of humanity, but rather its fullest spring and fountain-head, a man without guilt, but with everything else that belongs to man — an existence not of itself secure and unassailable, but held like a fortress in immaculate purity by the Godhead within. Such was the form in which the Redeemer of his life, and Master of his heart, appeared to Irving. He set forth the Lord so, before all eyes, with outcries of joy and tears, finding in that utter brotherhood of the flesh a culmination

of grace, and love, and unspeakable Divine tenderness such as heart of man had not conceived.

This was the preacher's view, standing above the crowd with his eyes and his thoughts in the heavens; but other eyes and thoughts were in the cloudy regions underneath, watching that lofty perilous career into the Divine mysteries, without either light to lead, or faith to follow. An idle clergyman, called Cole,—of whom nobody seems to know anything but that he suddenly appeared out of darkness at this moment to do his ignoble office — heard by the wind of rumour, which at that time was constantly carrying something of the eloquent preacher's lavish riches about the world, of what appeared to him "a new doctrine." The immediate cause was an address delivered by Irving in behalf of a society for the distribution of Gospel Tracts, in which some of his audience discovered that the preacher declared the human nature of our Saviour to be identical with all human nature, truly and in actual verity the "seed of Abraham." This, coming to the ears of Mr. Cole, apparently, at the moment, a man at leisure, and in a condition to set his laborious brethren right and find out their errors, filled the soul of that virtuous critic with alarm and horror. To him the world seems to be indebted for the disingenuous statement of this new view, if new view it was, which, by giving the name of the "sinfulness of Christ's human nature" to that which in Irving's eyes was the actual redemption of human nature through Christ, inevitably prejudiced and prejudged the question with the mass of religious people. Few can follow those fine and delicate intricacies and distinctions which encompass

such an important but impalpable difference of belief; but everybody can be shocked at the connection of sin with the person of the Saviour. This was the unfair and deeply disingenuous method of representing it, which Cole first hit upon, and which all who followed him on that side of the question, in spite of countless protests and denials from the other, obstinately maintained. The novel means which Mr. Cole took to satisfy himself about the new doctrine we are fortunately able to give in his own words, which, in the form of a letter to Irving, he published shortly after the event he narrates.

"I had purposed," says this candid divine, "ever since the delivery of your Society Oration, to hear you myself, that I might be satisfied personally whether you really did hold the awful doctrine of *the sinfulness of Christ's human nature or not;* but six months elapsed before my continued purpose was realised. I did not like to leave my usual place of worship to hear you; and yet there appeared no possibility of accomplishing my desire without it. On Sunday evening, the 28th of October last, however, I was returning home rather early, about eight o'clock; and it occurred to me that, if I went to your chapel, I might find your oration not quite concluded; and that I might, perhaps, hear something that would enable me to arrive at the desired satisfaction. I accordingly proceeded to the Caledonian chapel. When I entered, I found your oration not concluded; I therefore sat down, and heard you for about twenty minutes. I had not been seated above a minute or two, when I found that you were dwelling much upon the person and work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and I had hardly arrived at a perception of the train of that part of your discourse, when you made me tremble from head to foot by thundering out the expression, 'THAT SINFUL SUBSTANCE!' meaning the human body of the adorable Son of God! You were declaring 'That the main part of His victory consisted

in His overcoming the sin and corruption of His human nature.' You stated, 'He did *not* sin.' 'But,' you said, 'there was that sinful substance against which He had to strive, and with which He had to conflict during the whole of His life upon earth.' What I felt at hearing such awful blasphemy against the person of the Son of God, declaimed with accompanying vehement gesticulations, before upwards, I should suppose, of two thousand persons, I cannot describe. And the whole superstructure of the remaining part of your oration was more or less of a piece with and built upon this terrifically awful foundation. . . . . Nevertheless, to put myself beyond the reach of error, in so momentous a matter, and at the same time to give you the most fair and full opportunity of unsaying any unguarded expressions, and also to ascertain whether what you uttered was your considerate and real belief, I resolved, if practicable, to speak to you in person. Having understood from one of your attendants that you would favour me with a conference, I waited till you were disengaged, and was at length admitted into your presence. My address and questions, and your answers, were as follows:—'I believe, sir, a considerable part of the conclusion of your discourse this evening has been upon the person and works of Jesus Christ?' You answered in the affirmative. I added, 'If I mistake not, you asserted that the human body of Christ was sinful substance?' You replied, 'Yes, I did.' I continued, 'But is that your real and considerate belief?' You answered, 'Yes, it is, as far as I have considered the subject.' And here you produced a book, which, I believe, was some national confession of faith, to confirm your faith and assertions, in which you pointed out to me these words (if I mistake not), 'The flesh of Jesus Christ, which was by nature mortal and corruptible.' . . . . 'This, sir,' I observed, 'is to me a most awful doctrine.' And after making other remarks upon the awfulness of the doctrine, and asking you once or twice if such was your deliberate and considerate belief, which you answered in the affirmative, I put this final question to you, 'Do you then, sir, really believe that the body of the Son of God was a mortal, corrupt, and corruptible body, like that of all man-

kind?—the same body as yours and mine?' You answered, 'Yes, just so; certainly; that is what I believe. Upon which I departed."

The inquirer departed, after so unwarrantable an invasion of another man's privacy, to bring against the sincere and patient preacher who had borne this catechising, and had not resented it, the charge of serious heresy. Such a method of getting at the facts on which the indictment was to be framed has fortunately been seldom resorted to; and it is not an example which many men would like to follow. Irving himself gives a much shorter account of the same interview in the preface to a volume entitled *Christ's Holiness in the Flesh*, published in 1831. He says:—

"Of the man I know nothing, save that a stranger once solicited conversation with me on a Lord's-day night, after public worship, of which conversation I found what purported to be the substance standing at the head of this publication (Cole's pamphlet). Whether it be so or not I cannot tell, for it was at a moment of exhaustion that it was held; and I gave the stranger an invitation to come to me at leisure on the Thursday following, for the further satisfying of his conscience. He did not think it worth his while to do this; and could reconcile his conscience to the betrayal of pastoral and ministerial confidence, and to the publication of a conversation, without even asking me whether it was correctly reported or not . . . . I shall never forget," he proceeds, "the feeling which I had upon first hearing my name coupled with heresy. So much did it trouble me, that I once seriously meditated sending a paper to the *Christian Observer*, in order to contradict the man's false insinuations. But I thought it better to sit quiet and bear the reproach. When, however, I perceived that this error was taking form, and that the Church was coming into peril of believing that Christ had no temptations in the flesh to contend with and overcome, I felt it my duty to intercalate, in the volume on the Incarnation, a

sermon (No. III.), showing out the truth in a more exact and argumentative form, directed specially against the error that our Lord took human nature in its creation, and not in its fallen estate. And another (No. VI.), showing the most grave and weighty conclusions flowing from the true doctrine, that He came under the conditions of our fallen state in order to redeem us from the same. This is the true and faithful account of the first work which I published upon the subject."

In the preface of that work itself, he refers us simply, but with less detail, to the same occurrence :—

"When I had completed this office of my ministry," he explains, when giving forth the contested sermons for the first time to the world, "and, by the request of my flock, had consented to the publication of these, and the other discourses contained in this book; and when the printing of them had all but or altogether concluded; there arose, I say not by what influence of Satan, a great outcry against the doctrine which, with all orthodox churches, I hold and maintain concerning the person of Christ; the doctrine, I mean, of His human nature, that it was manhood fallen which He took up into His divine person, in order to prove the grace and the might of Godhead in redeeming it; or, to use the words of our Scottish confession, that His flesh was, in its proper nature, mortal and corruptible, but received immortality and incorruption from the Holy Ghost. The stir which was made in divers quarters, both of this and of my native land, about this matter, as if it were neither the orthodox doctrine of the Church, nor a doctrine according to holiness, showed me, who am convinced of both, that it was necessary to take controversial weapons in my hand, and contend earnestly for the faith as it was once delivered to the saints. I perceived, now, that the dogmatical method which I had adopted for the behoof of my own believing flock would not be sufficient when publishing to a wavering, gainsaying, or unbelieving people: and, therefore, it seemed to me most profitable to delay the publication until I should have composed something fitted to re-establish men's minds upon the great fundamental doctrine of the

Church; which, having done, I resolved to insert the same as two other sermons; the one upon the method of the Incarnation, and the other upon the relations of the Creator and the creature, as these are shown out in the light of the Incarnation. And for this timeous interruption by evil tongues, I desire to give thanks to God, inasmuch as I have been enabled thereby, not only to expound, but to defend, the faith that the Son of God came in the flesh."

Such was the simple and straightforward course adopted by Irving at the first whisper of the accusation brought against him. Instead of rushing into sudden encounter with his darkling assailant, he waited until nearly the end of the year, in order to add to the plain statement of his belief its fuller defence and support—and after adding these careful productions to the already printed volume, issued it, with the explanation given above, without even referring to the obscure originator of the sudden outcry. The dedication to the third volume of this work is dated January 10th, 1828, while the similar preface to the first is not written till November 10th of the same year, ten months later. The difference of these dates bears notable and simple testimony to the way in which this matter affected him. The work, prepared with all care and deliberation, and just on the eve of being given to the world, was postponed, not that he might soften down or clear away the doubtful expressions, but that, with more distinct force and clearer utterance, he might disclose the belief that was in him. Having no doubt in himself, he was only anxious to be understood clearly, that his doctrine might be proved. In this patient and candid manner, not hastily, but with the postponement of all an author's expectations, and all the natural indignation of a man

unhandsomely assailed, he answered this first charge of heresy. He himself bears witness that it was echoed on all sides around him. It was "a great outcry"—"a stir in divers quarters." He delayed answering for a year — a year so full of other occupations, that it is hard to conceive how he can have had the patience and composure necessary to take up the threads and extend the high argument; and then soberly asserts his cherished truth and vindicates his character. "The point at issue is simply this," he says with dignified gravity and moderation, "whether Christ's flesh had the grace of sinlessness and incorruption from its proper nature, or from the indwelling of the Holy Ghost; I say the latter." With this statement of the matter, we may, in the meantime like Irving, leave the question. The cloud, like a man's hand, had risen out of the envious mists, when the religious spy entered the little Presbyterian sacristy at Regent Square, to bring the ingenuous soul there to account, and betray its frank and unstudied explanations. All unconscious of the object of his questioner, Irving spoke forth the truth he held then as always; and when he became aware of the brewing storm faced it, all candid and undisguisable, but with a patience and lofty composure which few men could have equalled. And with that for the present the matter closed. An angry wind of assault and accusation raged without; but within, his beloved Church, always ready enough to note deviations in doctrine, was yet unroused and unstartled. And Irving went on his way, full not of one truth but of many — and believing himself, first and above all, called upon to proclaim the coming of that Lord whom he all but saw — the

approach of one who was no abstraction nor embodiment of doctrine to his fervid spirit, but his very God and Lord, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone.

In the spring of the same year he preached a Fast-day Sermon, it is not recorded upon what occasion, before the Presbytery of London, which was afterwards published under the title of an *Apology for the ancient fulness and purity of the doctrine of the Church of Scotland.* This work I can only speak of from the fragments contained in an adverse and ill-natured review; but it was evidently not only a fervent eulogium on the mother Church, but an assertion of higher claims on her behalf than the so-called democratic and popular Church of Scotland is generally supposed to have ever made; and he seems to have founded his views, as Irving was always disposed to do, upon the ancient Confessions of the Church, and not upon the modern Westminster Confession, which is now its chief recognised standard. Upon these old confessions he always made his stand, reaching across the controversial age to those ancient and loftier days when the primitive creed was set forth simply and without argument. There is, indeed, a certain wilful independence in the way in which he eludes all mention of the later declaration of doctrine which has been identified with his Church, and fixes his tenacious regard upon the elder utterance, which he never ceased to maintain, and quaintly inflicted upon his English disciples in after years with a pertinacity which would be amusing were it not deeply pathetic. "I do battle under the standards of the Church under which my fathers fell," he says with touching prophetic sadness in this Fast-day sermon. "I am a man sworn to discipline, and must abide by my

standard, and may not leave it, but fall beside it, or fall above it, and yield to it the last shelter and rampart of my fallen body." These words were laughed at by some of the critics of the day as "mouthvaliant tropes." The progress of time, however, throws sad and striking illustrations upon them; for it is certain that, whether right or wrong in his interpretation of their meaning, Irving did stand by those standards till he fell in the heat of battle, and never relinquished them, even to the death.

In May, Mrs. Irving, whose health was still delicate, went to Scotland to her father's house, and about the same time Irving himself left London to travel by the slower route of Annan and his native district, preaching as he went, to Edinburgh and Kirkcaldy. His object in this journey was not relaxation or pleasure. He went, counting himself "most favoured of the Lord," to proclaim in Scotland, as he had already done in London, the coming of his Master. "Walk, dear David, in the fear of the Lord — the time is short," he writes in one of those friendly letters, now becoming rarer and rarer. And penetrated with that conviction, he went to Scotland to warn, first his father's house and kindred, and the countryside which had still so great a hold upon his heart, and then universal Scotland through her capital, of that advent which he looked for with undoubting and fervent expectation. This journey was in many respects a very remarkable one, being occupied entirely in the work to which he had no inducement or persuasion but his own profound belief of the great event about to happen — of which, indeed, nobody can doubt that the world had, if it were so near at hand, most strenuous

need to be advertised. No way could he have better proved the perfect reality of his own belief.

"Edward is in excellent health," writes Mrs. Irving, on the 16th of May, from Kirkcaldy, to Mr. Story, of Rosneath. "He has gone to bear his testimony for the truth in his native town, and purposes being in Dumfries, if the Lord will, next week, and to commence his labours in Edinburgh on Thursday next. . . . His time is wholly occupied. His course of discourses will not be finished in Edinburgh until Wednesday the 4th of June, when he proposes starting immediately for Glasgow, and, if they choose, preaching there on the following day. Then at Paisley on Friday, at Greenock on the Saturday morning, and, crossing to Rosneath and doing all service you may require on Sabbath and Monday. He desires much to preach for Mr. Campbell on Tuesday evening, again at Glasgow on Wednesday, at Bathgate (my brother's parish) on Thursday, and be here at the communion on Sabbath the 15th. All being well, on Tuesday after, we expect that your acquaintance, William Hamilton, will be united to my sister Elizabeth. After this, God willing, Edward visits Perth, Dundee, and Monimail."

Such was the course he had determined for himself before setting out from his labours in London; and when it is understood that he did this without inducement or stimulation, except that of the message with which he was bursting, something of the fervour of the spirit which could not keep silent may be apprehended. One joyful domestic incident — the marriage of his sister-in-law to his bosom friend, a marriage quaintly suggested years ago, before the pair had ever met, to the present bridegroom — gave a point of tender human interest to the laborious journey: but such a holiday few labouring men, few workers errant in such an agitating

field as that of London, would have thought of, or could have carried out.

From the first point in these apostolic travels he writes as follows to his wife :—

"Annan, Saturday, 17th May, 1828.

"My dear Wife,—I arrived here on Wednesday night, and found all our friends well. Next morning I waited on the minister, who most graciously gave me my request to preach the three week nights as well as the Sabbath. This I published in the market, as I came down the street, and in the evening the church was thronged, as also last night. I opened the seventh chapter of Daniel, and the second and third of Acts, laying out the whole subject, and this night I open 2 Peter iii. and Romans xix. and xx. Indeed, I have been most favoured of the Lord to open these great truths first in Scotland to my own kindred and townsmen, and in the church where I was baptized. To-morrow I preach at Kirkpatrick, in a tent, I suppose, when I intend throwing all help aside, and preaching a regular sermon from Rom. viii. 1, 2, 3, trusting to Christ's own most helpful and blessed promise. In the evening I return and preach for the Sabbath Schools; I know not what sermon yet; perhaps, however, it may be a discourse of baptism, from Rom. vi., embodying the doctrine of the homilies, and this also *extempore*. On Monday I proceed for Dumfries, resting a few hours with our Margaret, and proceeding thence to Cargen, to meet some clergymen there; but finding the minister of the parish to be my nearest of kin, I wrote a letter to him enclosed to Cargen, to say, that if he would gather the people after their work, at seven o'clock, I would preach to them. On Tuesday, at one o'clock, I preach for the Society; and in the evening, at seven, for Mr. Kirkwood, at Holywood, if it please him; and then, on Wednesday morning, I proceed with Margaret to Edinburgh by the earliest coach. . . . . These things I write that you may remember me at those seasons when I am engaged in the Lord's service. For it is the strength yielded unto the prayers of His saints which is my strength. I am nothing but a broken reed. I desire to be still viler in my sight. I

am His worthless instrument, whom He will use for His own glory, either in saving me or in not saving me: and so that His glory is promoted I desire to be satisfied. Oft I have the feeling of the Apostle—lest I also be a castaway. God bless you and dear Margaret. . . . . The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be upon thee, and upon all the house of thy father. Farewell.

"Your affectionate husband,
"EDWARD IRVING."

Thus labouring, he made his way through Dumfriesshire. The wonderful apparition of that great figure, with which Annan had grown unfamiliar, pausing in the street where the weekly market of the country town was going on, and proclaiming with audible voice to all the rural crowd of farmers and cottagers and homely country-merchants the night's preaching, is a scene well worthy any painter's skill. There where, as his old companions boast, no man has ever had "an ill word" to say of Edward Irving, he appeared out of the halo of distant metropolitan grandeur, familiar, yet strange, a distinction to his native town. The countryside, stirred with an impulse warmer than mere curiosity, arose and went to hear the message he brought them. On the Sunday when he preached, neighbouring ministers shut up their churches, and went the long Sabbath-day's journey, across the Annandale moors, to hear him, along with their people. Such a scene as Tennyson touches, with one wistful stroke of his magic pencil, must have been common enough in those days in that southland country. Many a countryman, roused by the sound of his old schoolfellow's name, like him who—

"In his furrow musing stands,
Does my old friend remember me?"

must have given his Sunday's leisure to listen to that voice which had no equal in Annandale. For once the proverb seems to have failed. He had honour in his own country, where gentle and simple flocked to hear him; and where, when the church would not contain his hearers, he preached in the open air from the little wooden pulpit, traditionally known as the "tent," to which, on extraordinary occasions, the rural ministers resorted. That he had been able to carry his message thus to his own people seems to have been a refreshment to Irving's heart.

Then he went on to Edinburgh, where he had already arranged to deliver twelve lectures on the Apocalypse. Here he was to live in the house of Mr. Bridges, now a friend of some years' standing, who lived in Great King Street, one of those doleful lines of handsome houses which weigh down the cheerful hill-side under tons of monotonous stone. The mistress of the house awaited in some trepidation the arrival of her distinguished guest, doubtful whether one, of whose eccentricities and solemnities everybody had heard, might be sufficiently of human mould to make him an agreeable visitor. She sent away her children hurriedly when she heard his arrival at the door, and listened with a little awe for his stately approach. But, while the mother stood palpitating by her drawing-room door, the children on the stairs encountered the stranger. He stood still immediately to greet them, to make himself acquainted with their names, and give them the blessing, without which he could not pass any head sufficiently low to have his hand of benediction laid upon it. I am not sure that

one of them was not mounted aloft on the mighty altitude of his shoulder when he confronted the mother, alarmed no longer, and received the welcome, which came from no hesitating lip.

It was May, and the clergy of Scotland were all in Edinburgh. Of all times to deliver the message of Elias, this was the best time for the Presbyterian nation; and it was on that special account that Irving had chosen it. He began his lectures in St. Andrew's Church at the extraordinary hour of six in the morning, in order to make sure of the ecclesiastical audience, busied all day in the affairs of the Church, which he particularly sought. In the sweet but chilly freshness of those spring mornings, a dense crowd filled the area of George Street. I have heard a clergyman of the mildest aspect and most courtly manners describe how, roused by the idea that favoured persons were being admitted by another entrance, he, despite all the proprieties of his clerical character and the suavities of his individual disposition, was so far roused as to threaten an official in attendance with a personal assault, and descent over the besieged railing, if admittance was not straightway afforded. Nothing in our day seems fit to be compared with that wonderful excitement. Half of the audience would, on ordinary occasions, have been peacefully reposing in their beds at the hour which saw them, all animated and anxious, pressing into the gloomy church. The very accompaniments which would have repelled them from another—his indifference to ordinary comforts and regulations — his selection of an hour, of all others least likely to tempt forth the crowd — seem to have attracted them to Irving. Hosts of people cheer-

fully made themselves uncomfortable for the chance of getting admittance; and those who came, came not once, as to an unparalleled exhibition, but time after time, as unable to escape from the spell. "He is drawing prodigious crowds," Dr. Chalmers writes. "We attempted this morning to force our way into St. Andrew's Church; but it was all in vain. He changes to the West Church, for the accommodation of the public." In that vast building, fitted up with three hideous galleries, the wonderful invention of the eighteenth century, the crowd did not lessen. "Certainly there must have been a marvellous power of attraction that could turn a whole population out of their beds as early as five in the morning," adds Dr. Chalmers. "The largest church in our metropolis was each time overcrowded." And the enthusiastic hearers took the younger members of their households with them, when it was practicable, through the crowd, by way of impressing that wonderful eloquence, so unlikely to appear again in their day, upon the minds of the new generation.

It was altogether an extraordinary new chapter in the preacher's life. Perhaps to disturb the equilibrium of the composed society of Edinburgh, and draw an immense congregation of his sober-minded countrymen from their morning slumbers and home comfort, into such a crowded assembly as the rising sun rarely shines upon, was the greatest triumph to which he had yet attained. It does not seem, however, that he looked at it at all in this vulgar light. "I have fairly launched my bark. God speed us!" he writes to his wife; and, without another word of comment

upon his extraordinary audiences, proceeds to report his progress through Dumfriesshire, and to diverge into purely domestic matters, telling how one of the Kirkcaldy sisters, then in his native country, "is dear to all who know her;" but, "being of the Reformation school by education," he perceives that the family with whom she resides is "but Evangelical;" and sending to another sister—the bride Elizabeth—the tender regards which her circumstances call forth:—"My brotherly love and ministerial blessing upon her virgin head," he writes; his heart evidently touched with the tearful joy of that crisis of youthful life. Nor could any one guess, from this brief correspondence, that the writer was at the height of popular applause, followed, lauded, and commented upon by the whole disturbed town, in which he had appeared like a sudden meteor; the agitating popularity which encircled him leaves no trace upon his hurried and simple communications.

And now the objections which had always risen against him began really to take a form grievous to his heart. London criticism had not dismayed the dauntless orator; but he was now among friends, and exposed to animadversions of a heavier kind. Again Dr. Chalmers comes in, puzzled and full of doubt, yet speaking plainly the opinion for which his mind had evidently been preparing since his visit to London. "For the first time, heard Mr. Irving," he notes in his brief journal; "I have no hesitation in saying it is quite woeful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but withal, a mysterious and extreme allegorization, which, I am sure, must be pernicious to

the general cause. He sent me a letter he had written to the King, on the Test, &c., and begged that I would read every word of it before I spoke. I did so, and found it unsatisfactory and obscure, but not half so much so as his sermon." At the discussion upon the Abolition of Tests, in the General Assembly of that year, Chalmers again describes the apparition of Irving, making himself visible among the assembled spectators, and doing all that a bystander could to make his own strenuous opposition apparent. "Irving is wild on the other side from me," said the calm and liberal divine, who supported with all his force of practical wisdom the abolition of a safeguard proved to be useless, and who had read, without being at all influenced by it, the eloquent letter to the King, in which the idealist opposite him set forth his splendid impracticable vision of a Christian nation bound under God to be swayed by only Christian men; "he sat opposite to me when I was speaking, as if his eye and looks, seen through the railing, were stationed there for my disquietude." He, by the way, had a regular collision with a Dr. H., a violent sectarian, who denounced him as an enemy to the Gospel of Christ. The colloquy that ensued was highly characteristic; Mr. Irving's part of it began with "Who art thou, O man, that smiteth me with thy tongue?"

Nothing could better illustrate the characters of the two men, whom it is always interesting and often amusing to see together, than this odd juxtaposition: the one, clear-sighted and executive within the legislative area—the other, impatient, eager, visionary, outside; spending his strength in vehement appeals and

protests against the inevitable tide of things which was, visibly to his eyes, sweeping down the lofty claims and standing of his country. Chalmers puts the impracticable optimist aside with a mixture of impatience and compassion — finds his impassioned protest "obscure and unsatisfactory," and proceeds, in spite of the brilliant gaze fixed upon him "through the railing," to clear the modern working ground for modern action and practical necessities. Irving, with a certain loving, noble scorn, all unaware of the different direction in which his friend's eyes are turning, and totally inaccessible to all considerations of practicability, watches the formation of the commonplace road, shaped according to compelling circumstances, and burns to rush in and establish the eternal ideal track, deviating for no compulsion, which neither he nor any other man can ever fix upon the surface of this earth. Yet, let nobody think that the ideal protest outside was of less use to humanity than the operative sense within. Chalmers helped on the course of modern affairs and smoothed and widened the national path: Irving, with extravagance, with passion, with convictions which knew no middle course, stirred the hearts in men's bosoms, and kept alive the spirit of that sublime impracticable, which, never reaching, every true man strives to reach, and which preserves an essence of national and spiritual life far beyond the power of the most perfect organization or the highest political advantages to bestow.

Whether Chalmers's conclusion, that the lectures of this course were "quite woeful," was shared by the Edinburgh public, seems very doubtful; for, to the last, that public, not over-excitable, crowded its streets in

the early dawn, thronging toward that point where the homely West Church, with its three galleries, stands under the noble shadow of the Castle Hill; and his wonderful popularity was higher at the conclusion than at the beginning. Nor is it easy to believe that the same year which produced the splendid oratory of the *Last Days*, could have fallen so far short in the special mission with which he felt himself charged. But Chalmers's disapproving eye did not perceive nor recognise the overpowering force of that conviction which had taken possession of his friend. The second Advent was, to him, a doctrine open to discussion, possibly capable of proof; to Irving, a closely-approaching stupendous event, of which woe was unto him if he did not warn his brethren. The one man was not able to judge the other with such an astonishing gulf of difference between.

Other encounters, telling upon his future career, happened to Irving at this remarkable era of his life. It was one of the critical periods of religious thought. Here and there, throughout Scotland, one mind and another had broken the level of fixed theology, and strayed into a wider world of Christian hope and love. Departing from the common argumentative basis of doctrine, such minds as that of Mr. Erskine of Linlathen and Mr. Campbell of Row, afterwards notable enough in the agitated Church, had concentrated themselves upon one point of the bountiful revelation of divine truth, and declared, with all the effusive warmth of Christian love and yearning, the "freeness of the Gospel." According to their view, a substantial difference had taken place in the position of the world since the great act of

redemption was accomplished. It was not a problematical salvation, only real when faith and conversion came to the individual soul, but an actual fact, entirely changing the position of the human race, which was manifest to them in the work of our Lord and Saviour. It was not that salvation might be, as man after man believed and received it, but that salvation *was*, for God had accomplished and revealed that greatest demonstration of His love. Leaving to other men the task of balancing with all those wonderful mysteries of limitation, which, whether called divine election or human resistance, show visibly, in gloom and terror, the other side of that glorious picture, they addressed themselves to the joyful utterance of that unquestionable universal proffer of love which God makes to all His creatures. This delicious gleam of light, opening ineffable hopes of universal safety, and emboldening the preacher to summon every man, as in the position of a redeemed creature, to the assurance of that love and forgiveness which dwelt in God, had begun to brighten the pious soul and laborious way of the young west-country minister, with whose name, as a system of doctrine, these views were afterwards identified in the early autumn of 1828. Dreaming nothing of heresy, but anxious to consult a brother in the ministry, of older experience and more vivid genius than himself, about this tremulous dawning glory which had brightened the entire world of truth to his own perceptions, John Campbell of Row, saintly in personal piety, and warm in Celtic fervour, came, with the natural diffidence of youth, to seek an interview with Irving. He found him alone in the drawing-

room at Great King Street, with one of the children of the house playing on the carpet at his feet, — a tender domestic accompaniment to the high reverie and musings of the interpreter of prophecy. The stranger — less a stranger as being the dear friend of one of Irving's dearest friends — told his errand modestly: he had come to ask counsel and help in the midst of his hopes and difficulties. Irving turned towards him with the natural gracious humbleness of his character, and bade him speak out. "God may have sent me instruction by your hands," said the candid heart, always more ready to learn than to teach. It is not hard to imagine what must have been the effect of these words on the young man, shy of his errand. They sat down together to discuss that high theme, with the child playing at their feet. Nobody will doubt that their after-friendship lasted till death.

I am not able to estimate what effect Mr. Campbell's views had upon the mind of Irving. As one part, and that a deeply important one, of the truth, great and wide enough to deserve any man's special devotion, and, indeed, the most clear demonstrative exhibition of the Gospel, it is evident that he entered into it heartily; and holding, as he himself held, that Christ's work was one which redeemed not only individual souls but the nature of man, no one could be more ready than he to rejoice in the fullest unconditional proclamation that Christ died for all. His own sentiments, however, on other subjects, and the higher heroical strain of a soul which believed visible judgment and justice to be close at hand, and felt, in the groaning depths of its nature, that the world he contemplated was neither con-

scious nor careful of its redemption, make it apparent that Irving's mind was not so specially bent upon this individual aspect of the truth as that of his visitor. But it is a curious and significant fact, that many men — I had almost said *most* men, at all able to think for themselves, who ever crossed his path — seem to have entertained an impression that they, in their proper persons, had instructed and influenced Irving. To the outer world, the great preacher appears drawing after him a crowd of lesser luminaries; but each individual of these, when one comes to inquire into it, retains a conviction that he was the leader, and Irving, always so lavish and princely in his acknowledgments of benefits received, the follower. With the open heart and eye of simple genius, always ready to hear and receive, he seems somehow to have convinced all with whom he came in close contact that light had reached his mind through their means; and this notwithstanding the high position he always assumed as a teacher. But Mr. Campbell commended himself entirely to Irving's heart. He was too visibly a man of God to leave any doubtfulness upon his immediate reception into the fervent brotherhood of that tender nature.

From Edinburgh, as soon as his lectures were finished, the preacher went to Glasgow, from whence, about a week after, he writes the following brief account of his labours to his wife :—

"Collins' shop, Glasgow, June 10th, 1828.

"I have a moment's time, and embrace it, to let you know that I am here, well, and about to proceed to Carnwath to-morrow morning. I have had much of the Lord's presence. I preached here on Matt. xiii. on Thursday. On Friday,

on the Regeneration, when the apostles are to sit on thrones. On Saturday, on the Resurrection. On Sabbath, at Rosneath, in the tent, on Psalm ii. for lecture, and on the name of God, Psalms ix. and x., for sermon. At Row, on the 24th Matthew. To-morrow I preach on Matt. xxv., first parable; at Bathgate, second parable; and in Edinburgh, on the Last Times. I was much delighted with Campbell and Sandy Scott, whom I have invited to come with you to London. I trust the Lord will deliver him out of his present deep waters. I have much comfort in these extempore expositions, and, if I mistake not, it will constitute an era in my ministry; not that I will hastily adopt it, or always, but for the propagation of this truth by exposition. It is a great delight for me to find that I can preach every day with little trouble, with no injury. I trust the Lord preserves you in faith, and peace, and love. By the blessing of God, I will see you on Saturday morning. . . . . Farewell, my beloved wife!"

This brief record supplies little except the facts of the rapid but apostolic journey. I have no information as to the effect of his appearance at Glasgow; but when he arrived at the little westland paradise of Rosneath, and under the rich sycamores and blossomed laurel set up the tent, or wooden out-door pulpit, familiar to all eyes on great ecclesiastical occasions, and close by the little church, all too small for the overflowing audience, yet occupied by a portion of the hearers, thrilled the soft air and listening crowd with his herald's proclamation of the coming King, the whole district, hereafter to bear a notable part in his own history, was stirred by his approach. Doubtless the singular young woman who was first to receive that wonderful gift of "Tongues" which had so great an influence on Irving's future fate, was there from the head of the loch to have her mysterious imagination quickened with words which should reverberate to the preacher's undoing. All

the agitations and distractions of his latter days lay there in the germ by the sweet half-Highland waters, on the shore of which, as eager to penetrate the rural stillness as to charm the greater ear of cities, he delivered his startling message. Next day at Row, on the opposite shore, almost within hearing of his Sabbath-day's station, a similar scene was repeated. A witness describes, with a certain unconscious poetry, the aspect of the loch, bright with boats, conveying from all points the eager congregation, and Irving's generous spontaneous divergence from his special mission to take up and illuminate and enforce the equally special and earnest burden of the young brother who had unfolded to him his heart. There he met, not for the first time, but with an important result, another man, who cannot be dismissed with the familiar mention given him in the letter above: Alexander Scott, now of Manchester, the son of Dr. Scott, of Greenock, a licentiate of the Scotch Church—a man whose powerful, wilful, and fastidious mind has produced upon all other capable minds an impression of force and ability which no practical result has yet adequately carried out. A Scotch probationer, but characteristically recalcitrant and out of accordance with every standard but his own, this remarkable man, then young, and in a position in which any great thing might be prophesied of his visible powers, attracted, I cannot tell how, notwithstanding his total dissimilarity and unaccordance, the regard of Irving. A greater contrast could not be than between that fastidious fancy, which seems to reject with disgust the ordinary ornaments of language, winning a kind of perfection of simplicity by the disdainful finesse of art—and the fervent

and glowing imagination, swelling into irresistible lyric strains by intuition of nature, which inspired the eloquence of Irving; unless it were the contrast between the profound and sublime faith which turned belief into reality in the heart of the great preacher, and that questioning, unsatisfied, always fastidious philosophic soul, which seems to delight in undermining the ground on which the other great intelligence holds a precarious standing, and lessening one by one the objects of possible faith. Notwithstanding this vast difference, so visible now-a-days, these two dissimilar natures had somehow fallen into warm and sudden friendship; and Irving, all truthful and ingenuous, desiring no pledges about doctrine, and confident in the piety and truth of the young man, engaged the doubtful probationer to join him in London, and be his assistant in his ministerial labours. Such an offer, perhaps, no man in the Church of Scotland but himself would have made; but the bargain seems to have been concluded at this Row preaching; and for some time after this strangely-matched pair laboured together with such agreement as was possible, and with friendship unbroken.

Passing through Glasgow, Irving then went to Carnwath, in the wilds of Lanarkshire, where his wife's cousin, the Rev. James Walker, was minister of the parish, and from thence to Bathgate, not far off, to his brother, Samuel Martin, another well-known and honoured parish priest. Another sermon in Edinburgh seems to have concluded this laborious week. On Saturday he crossed the Firth, to Kirkcaldy, to join his family and share the household joys and conferences of the family home, then excited by all the agitations of

an approaching bridal. It was the eve of the communion, besides—always a time of solemn yet pleasant stir in a Scotch manse. The tenderest, touching conjunction of family emotions was in that manse of Kirkcaldy on the expectant Saturday, and the solemn cheerful dawn of the sacramental morning: one of the daughters a bride, another a delicate expecting mother;—sweet agitation and religious calm.

But darker shadows were to fall over the wedding day. On Sunday evening, after the sacramental feast was over, a prodigious concourse of people gathered in Kirkcaldy church. They had come from all quarters to hear a preacher so renowned for his eloquence, who had long been familiar to all the neighbourhood, whom once the popular mind of Kirkcaldy had scorned, but whom now the entire neighbourhood struggled for a chance of hearing. In the sweet summer evening, when Irving, all unaware of any calamity, and having just left his ailing wife, was on his way to church, he met a messenger coming to warn him of the terrible accident which had just occurred. The overcrowded galleries had fallen, and, besides the immediate inevitable loss of life, which, fortunately, was not great, all the horrors of a vulgar panic had set in amongst the crowd. Irving immediately took up his post under a window in the staircase, and, conspicuous by his great size and strength, helped many of the terrified fugitives to make their way out, lifting them down in his arms. Such a scene of popular panic and selfish cowardice is always an appalling one. Dr. Chalmers, whose wife and child were present, reckons, in his account of it, that "at least thirty-five people" were

killed, two or three only by the actual fall of the gallery, and the rest "by the stifling and suffocation towards the doors of the church." The dead and dying were lifted out into the churchyard, the latter to receive such help as might be possible, and terror and lamentation filled the neighbourhood. In the midst of this heartrending scene, one of the crowd, with a bitterness, perhaps, excused by some great loss, turned upon the preacher, and taunted him cruelly with being the cause of the terrible event. The reproach, bitterly unjust as it was, went to Irving's heart. He is said to have withdrawn from the melancholy scene to his own chamber, with tears of anguish and humiliation. And when this dreadful disturbance of the evening's calm had come to an end, and the troubled family, after having exhausted all possible efforts for the relief of the sufferers, were at last assembling to their evening prayers, his grieved soul broke forth into words. "God hath put me to shame this day before all the people," he said, with a pang of distress all the more sharp and terrible from the love of love and honour that was natural to his heart. The short time he spent in Kirkcaldy afterwards was entirely occupied by visits to the injured or bereaved people, and, to such of them as needed pecuniary help, his purse as well as his heart was open. But the whole calamitous event seems to have been embittered by a wholly unreasonable and most cruel resentment against the preacher, which it is hard to account for. It is said that in some excited local coterie there was wild talk of *offering up the author of all this calamity as a deodand.* And even the fact that the marriage, thus sadly overcast, was not postponed, in-

creased the popular indignation. Dr. Chalmers himself, with inexplicable bitterness, exposed as he himself was to all the accidents common to the gathering together of immense multitudes, describes this calamity as "the most striking and woeful effect of Irving's visit." It gave a tragic conclusion to the triumphant and exciting course of his brief but incessant labours.

Just at this eventful and exciting period, another infant son came into the world, in the Kirkcaldy manse, and, as soon as Irving could leave his wife, he returned to London, making a brief divergence into the North, before setting out on his homeward journey. In this short expedition northwards he reappears out of the darkness in the following vivid glimpse, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. W. Taylor, of the Free Church, Creich. This gentleman writes:—

"My own remembrance of Edward Irving is thirty years old, yet is the impression as fresh as the day on which it was made. I remember the very bend of the pavement where first I saw him: the raven locks flowing down to his broad shoulders, his magnificent erect figure, the cloak thrown over his arm, and the giant air with which he marched, are ineffaceably present to my mind. . . . . He had come to Perth to preach. Mid-day sermons were not popular entertainments then, and the Kirkcaldy church catastrophe was fresh in people's thoughts; but the East church was filled. His text was taken from the 24th chapter of Matthew, regarding the coming of the Son of Man. I remember nothing of the sermon, save its general subject; but one thing I can never forget. While he was engaged in unfolding his subject, from out of a dark cloud, which obscured the church, there came forth a bright blaze of lightning and a crash of thunder. There was deep stillness in the audience. The preacher paused; and from the stillness and the gloom his powerful voice, clothed with increased solemnity, pronounced these words: 'For as

the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be.' You can imagine the effect."

The next that we see of him is in London, returned to his post, and plunging, without any interval, into his ordinary labours. He went, not to his own house—it being, indeed, a transitionary moment, in which he seems to have had no house, having ended his tenantcy of one, and not entered upon another till his wife's return,—but to that of Miss Macdonald, a daughter of Sir Archibald Macdonald, once Lord Chief Justice, a woman of great accomplishments and wonderful self-devotion, who had been for some time the warmest friend of his family, and his own zealous assistant and amanuensis. From her habitation—then, it is to be supposed, a more refined locality than it appears now—he writes to his wife:—

"6 Euston Grove, Euston Square, London,
"Friday, July 3rd, 1828.

"MY DEAREST WIFE,—This is merely to announce to you my safe arrival. I have a long sheet begun, but there is not time to close it until to-morrow, for which I have a frank. I found Miss Macdonald well, about one o'clock; after washing, &c., we sat down to our old work* for about two hours; after which we have gone forth to visit the schools, which are thriving. . . . . As I passed through Cheapside, I called to inquire after our friends both there and elsewhere. Alex had received a letter that morning, to say that they were on their way, and would be here either to-morrow or on Monday. The Lord bring them in peace and safety! For myself, I am in good health, and slept well all the voyage. It is really a matter of some importance to come by the *James Watt:* and I would have you to bear it in mind. I fondly hope, before

* Miss Macdonald writing to his dictation.

this time, you are so far recovered as to be able to be up and to enjoy yourself, and that the dear boy is thriving well. God make his soul to prosper and be in health! And for dear Margaret, say that little Stewart inquired after her, and all rejoice in her health. But, no! guard against her vanity and egotism. It will become very great, unless it be kept down. I pray you to bear this in mind. Dinner is on the table, and Campbell is to spend the evening with us — going off to-morrow. My love to you all. God bless the homes of our fathers all!

"Your affectionate and dutiful husband,

"EDWARD IRVING."

Mr. Campbell of Row had either accompanied or preceded Irving to London, and had preached in his church, not only in the ordinary course, but an extraordinary Gaelic sermon, carrying back the minds of the changed congregation to those old days of the Caledonian Chapel, when Irving himself volunteered to learn Gaelic, if need were, rather than give up that post which he felt to be his fittest sphere. And it is evident that the profound piety and fervent love to God and man which he found in the heart of his new friend, had already made Irving a partisan in his favour, as was natural to the man. The correspondence proceeds not with the closeness or fulness of the journal-letters, which made the former separation between husband and wife memorable, but still conveying the best picture that can be given of his life and thoughts:—

"14 Westbourne Terrace, Bayswater,

"19th July, 1828.

"MY DEAREST ISABELLA,—I find it impossible, for some few days yet, of getting my plan carried into effect of finishing my long letter, so much lies to my hand; and, that you may not be disappointed of the regular communications which

you so well deserve and I so much desire to make, I must send you these light pilot-boats before my great galleon. William and Elizabeth arrived last night about half-past eight o'clock. They are both looking uncommonly well; Elizabeth a great deal stronger than at the time of her marriage, and both, as you may well conceive, glad to get home. We were holding a session, and so I did not arrive here till towards or after ten o'clock. The session were loud in their acknowledgments to Mr. Campbell, and none more so than Mr. Mackenzie, who, before, had been in some doubt of his doctrines. Now I think the judgment of so many pious and intelligent men, supported, as it is generally, I may say universally, ought to have its weight among the gainsayers in Scotland. I wrote for Campbell two letters, as I said, and saw him off on Saturday night. On Sabbath I preached my sermon on 'Jesus,' and in the evening I opened the period of the provocation from the making of the covenant unto the turning back into the wilderness. Next Sabbath, God willing, I open the name 'Christ' and the Church in the wilderness. The services were both well attended, and the people seemed most glad to see me back again, as you may be sure was I to be back. I caused thanks to be returned for you, and I am glad, by your father's letter, to find that we have such good reason for the continuance of thanks.

"I have read Mr. Evil's second tract, which contains a good deal of matter. . . . . I write these things because I know you love to meditate on them. Von Bülow called yesterday afternoon; he has been hunted out of Scandinavia, as they would a man-destroyer; but not until he had been instrumental in raising up two or three preachers in his stead, and he is now bound on his way to Poland, still in the service of the Continental Society. His wife is with him, and they have now three children. . . . I have finished this day my dedication, which, as Miss Macdonald was writing it, containing a review and narration of God's dealings with the Church, we found we were writing on that day six years on which I set out from Glasgow to go to London to take up my charge. Next Sabbath is the first of my Sabbatical year. God grant it may be a year of free-will fruitfulness! I have several curious things to send to you, but I must wait for a frank. Mr. Percival

and his brother were in church on Sabbath morning. . . . . I forget whether there is anything else of news; but I forget not to assure you of my tender love and constant faithfulness. God grant me to prove myself your worthy husband! I bless my children, yours and mine. I pray God to bless all the house. Remember me with all affection, and pray for me always. "E. I."

The dedication mentioned in this letter was that of the splendid volume, entitled the *Last Days*, a work which one naturally places beside his *Orations*, and which, apart from prophetical researches, or the deeper investigations into doctrine of his Trinity sermons, is perhaps more likely to preserve his literary fame than any other of his productions. The dedication was to his session, and especially to William Hamilton, now so nearly connected with him by family ties, and his old elder, Mr. Dinwiddie; and contained a history of his coming to London, and all the difficulties connected with it, from which I have already largely quoted. It is one of the chief of those many brief snatches of autobiography in which he revealed himself from time to time with unconscious simplicity, and which, unlike prefaces and dedications in general, are of an interest in many instances superior, and always equal to, the book itself thus introduced. But his wife's health had again raised fond anxieties in his heart:—

"London, Boro', Scotch Church, 15th July.

"MY DEAREST ISABELLA,—I write this from the Presbytery-room, after a long meeting, merely to express by this post the satisfaction which I have in not having received any letter, and the hope to which I have been raised that it was only an affection of the stomach. . . . . I trust it has been

a profitable, though a most overwhelming night to me, last night. God willing, we shall not separate again, save at the command of God, and for the needful duties of His Church; and this experience convinces me of the propriety, of the duty, of not leaving Margaret in Scotland. Ah! dear wife, you see how hope takes wing! I am speaking as if you were all beside me again, when, perhaps, you may be in sore affliction and trouble. If so, God be your help and comfort, your health and your portion! You were remembered in the prayers of the Presbytery, and shall be remembered to-morrow night in the Church. I cannot go to dine with my brethren, but go home to Miss Macdonald's. . . . . My blessing upon our children, and my dearest love and blessing to yourself, my most dear and affectionate wife."

"6 Euston Grove, Euston Square, 15th July.

"MY DEAREST ISABELLA,—This letter of your father's afflicts me exceedingly, but yet I have a good hope that the Lord will be gracious to us and restore you to your bodily strength for a consolation to me and to his people. . . . . Miss Macdonald assures me that her sister has frequently had similar attacks. This is some comfort to me in my present absence and great distance from you; but my chief comfort is in knowing that where God is there is peace. His presence be with thee and give thee rest! It was a very great delight to me to receive a letter written partly by your own hand, and I had begun to count over the weeks before your return. But the Lord suffereth me not to be high-minded; I am kept in poverty of spirit and in affliction; would that I may be found bowed down for my sins, and the sins of my house, and the sins of the Church! Lately I have been very much exercised with the consciousness of indwelling sin, and, by God's grace, have attained unto some measure of self-loathing; but much, much I lack of this grace, which cometh only through the apprehension of God's beauty, and holiness, and loveliness, seen in the face of Jesus Christ. To you, now lying on a bed of sickness and weakness, how sweet must be the thought that the Son of God himself bore your infirmities and carried your diseases and sorrows, and that He is able to succour you in your temptation; yea, that He is suffering

with you, and will be a strength in you to overcome your suffering! Oh, my dear wife, how glad were I at this moment to stand beside your bed and speak comfort to your heart! But He, who is the head of all the members, heareth my prayer, and will minister grace unto you by His Spirit, or by some one of His saints. I am very troubled in my spirit at present; but yet I will trust in my God. The other night I was enabled to make a very full confession of our sins as husband and wife, and the heads of a family. I desire to be before the Lord in great lowliness and poverty of spirit, until He is pleased to comfort me with the tidings of your recovery. If you be able to attend to other things, I know you will desire to know all our state, and how we prosper together. The enemy seems stirring up the lukewarm and formalists to speak more and more against the blessed hope of our Lord's coming; but amongst us I find it findeth room and bringeth peace. I had a good deal of controversy this morning with ——, who came out with such an expression as this: "I wish you were done with that subject altogether." The ears of men are fast shutting, and we will soon be reduced to the necessity of giving ourselves wholly to the ear of God. 'I gave myself to prayer.' Yesterday I preached upon 'Christ,' the anointed, showing from Exodus xxx. that the holy oil was the symbol of the anointing spirit, and the things anointed the symbols of Christ's humanity therewith anointed. First, the tabernacle of His humanity, as the inclosure of divinity and of the worshipper of God—the middle thing between the Creator and the fallen creature, the ground of all intercommunion; second, the ark of the covenant . . . third, the shewbread . . . . . To you, dearest Isabella, that which is of most concern is to look with faith to those cherubim upon the mercy-seat. They are what we hope to be, and what we now believe ourselves to be,—souls saved by grace, and resting upon Christ, our propitiation, which is the same word with *mercy-seat,* or *propitiatory.* In the evening I preached upon the wilderness state of the Church, having written a new discourse for that purpose, in which I showed how the Jewish wilderness experience was to teach us of the Gentile Church how few, how very few would be honoured to come into the Sabbatical rest. Even Moses and Aaron fell

in the wilderness, though doubtless glorified saints, and many more; but only these two men came through to inherit the land. We are all sealed with the new covenant in the Lord's Supper; and if this generation should be the one which receives the judgment, how few will be brought through, for how few see the new covenant in the cup! But we do, my dear Isabella, therefore let us be strong in faith. I am again comforted. I feel a hope that the Lord will long spare us to go forward together through the wilderness, and that He may bring us and our little ones with us unto our rest. . . . . Meanwhile, I am employing myself in finishing the work upon the latter days, and . . . . . shall engage myself with my work on the Lord's Supper, which I see to be daily more and more important. . . . . We have great love and harmony, blessed be the Lord! . . . . I wish we were together—this is a poor substitute for personal communion; but all was done for the best. Abide in faith, my dearest wife, and be not disappointed at His appearing. The Lord bless our two children."

"17th July.

"I have received with much gladness and, I trust, thankfulness of heart, this letter of dear aunt's, which Mr. H—— sent out from town immediately on its arrival. I trust you will exercise over yourself much care, and walk by the rules of your physician, to whom I will be very much indebted when he gives you permission to set out on your voyage. I wish you would ask him how long it is likely to be till then. Let me know also in what way you would like that we should put up till we get a house of our own, for which I will now be looking out, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the church.

"I spent the first part of this week at Miss Macdonald's, engaging ourselves chiefly with the finishing of a long discourse upon 'Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof,' in the handling of which, to establish the fact of the abounding hypocrisy, I have gone over every one of the characteristics * again, which makes it likewise serve the end of a recapitulation. Upon the whole, I begin to think that you and Mr. Drummond think more correctly about

* See *Last Days.*

these sermons than I do myself. May God accept them as an offering of the faith and faithfulness of His Church! . . . I have had a letter from ——, of Edinburgh, remonstrating with me for not having preached the fundamental truths of the Gospel when I preached my twelve discourses. I take it as a precious oil from him; though it proves to me how dark the time is in which such an one should be held up for a light. I doubt very much whether he apprehends any more than the altar and the laver, which was open to all the people and under the open heaven. The Church of the first-born—the elect ones in the holy place—he very dimly perceives, if at all. However, if you should see him, let him know that I am beholden to him for his kindness, and take it in good part. . . . . The Presbytery were very kind to me when I presented my apology for my absence. I have had several visits of Miss C——, whom I call 'my little nun.' She fasts every Friday, confessed herself to me before the Sacrament, is most earnest that we should all league and covenant over again, and is a most pure-minded creature, but somewhat of a devotee. . . . . I shall observe what you say of Von Bülow, but I fear he is gone. In the paper before yesterday there was an address from Wolff, the Apostle of the Jews in Palestine, to his countrymen in Alexandria, being chiefly taken verbatim from our Ben-Ezra. I liked it well; he seems growing in the knowledge of the truth. They say (the evil-speaking generation) 'Wolff has separated from his wife.' You see what you have to expect if you do not haste back again. . . . . Farewell, my sister, my spouse! When are we to meet again? Make no tarrying. My blessing upon the children. . . . . Farewell! The galleon is hardly yet on the stocks."

"19th July.

"Miss Macdonald and I snatch a moment before dinner, in the midst of Saturday occupations, to let you know how happy we were made, and all your friends, on account of your restoration, which I dare say hath abounded in many thanksgivings to God. May the Lord continue to preserve you and the dear children by His mighty power until our union and for ever! . . . . Yesterday we had a call, at Bayswater, of

Captain Gambier, who opened to me his interpretation of Ezekiel's three chapters of Tyrus, making it out to be this land. . . . . I am deeply impressed with it, but have not yet had time to examine it. I am writing upon Christ, the altar of incense, the brazen altar and the laver, and upon Korah and his company" . . . .

This hurried break in his Saturday's labours is accompanied by a letter from his kind and gentle amanuensis, insisting on Mrs. Irving taking possession of her house as soon as she is able to come to London, and declaring her own intention of going to the country, and leaving it entirely to her friends, whenever she knew their arrangements. The author and the scribe mutually paused—the one from the deepest ponderings of judgment and mercy, the other from the absorbing yet tedious labours of the ministering pen — to send messages of comfort to the patient wife in her sick chamber. These intimations of the joint labours of the preacher and his amanuensis are sufficient to show that his delight in the faculty of extempore preaching, which he seems to have discovered in himself in his travels in Scotland, by no means interfered with his habitual studies. The fatiguing home voyage from Edinburgh was no sooner accomplished than he plunged into this habitual occupation; and throughout all this summer, through the fervid months which most people find unbearable in London, his pastoral labours are constantly kept in balance by intervals of close composition. The lonely man, with his heart and its treasures at a distance, divides his time between the new-formed home of his sister Elizabeth and that warm centre of friendship and good offices where Miss Macdonald's pen was always

ready to save him half his toil. Very interesting is the picture of the interrupted occupation presented to us for a moment in the letter above: the man, all fervent and loving, turning from his work to rejoice in the safety of his distant wife, yet with a delicate consideration, even in that most sacred tenderness, for the friend beside him, connecting her name with his own; and the sympathetic woman, adding her congratulations and invitation, glad, yet not without a sentiment of contrast, as she writes that "all times are alike to a disengaged person like myself," while anticipating the joyful return of the wife so deeply longed for; such a vignette of the many-sided life, which can only be seen of other eyes when it concerns the gifted, is enough to throw a certain gleam of pleasant interest even over the noisy purlieus of Euston Square.

The next letter from Kirkcaldy contained still better news:—

"22nd July, 1828.

"My dearest Wife,—The anxiety with which I heard the two knocks of the postman was amply repaid upon my breaking the seal, and seeing your own hand. I hope the Lord will enable us to be thankful for all His mercies. . . . . Lord Mandeville came last night, and passed three hours with us, opening to me his views, which are not new to you or to me, though to himself so much that he almost doubted the evidence of his own most patient inquiries. 1st. That we are not yet living under the New Covenant, which is to the Jews primarily, and through them to others, against the day of their restoration. 2. That we are still under Abraham's covenant of imputed righteousness. 3. That we enjoy it in a testamentary form. . . . . I have now his Lordship's papers. He is gone down to Huntingdon, to the Bible Society meeting. . . . Mr. Dinwiddie is in great trepidation at being put at the head of my book*, and he tells me Mr.

* The *Last Days* was dedicated to these two gentlemen.

Hamilton is of the same mind. I hope to persuade them better. I have a strong conviction that this boastful land is soon to be humbled. Oh, my dear Isabella, make no tarrying, but hide yourself and our children under the shadow of His wings, which is the Almighty. . . . . Pray for me often and diligently, and pray for us altogether in 'Our Father,' and pray much that we may have a sweet sense of the forgiveness of our sins. It is too good for me to be used as the Lord's instrument in these perilous times, though but little believed. Oh, God, grant me to be thy faithful servant, in the spirit of a son, 'though a son learning obedience.' Coleridge and Wordsworth are gone to Germany in company; is not that curious? . . . . . I remember nothing further to mention, except what I would never forget—my love to all your house, and my blessing upon my children, and upon my tender and devoted wife."

"25th July.

"I have received the sermons, and, as usual, there is now nothing wanting, and what I am to do with them I have not yet determined. I wish* your father would make me a good bargain with some of the Edinburgh booksellers, and so implicate their purse that they would be forced, by self-interest, to push them, for I see no other way of getting such interested. I would give them an edition of the series, consisting of 1500 copies, two vols. octavo, for 500*l.* I'll tell you what, my good chancellor, I will give you all you can get for them, in full possession, to do with it whatever seemeth to you good. Try Blackwood, or some of those worldlings; for truly there is no longer any grace or honour, and hard justice must be the rule with such. I wish sadly you were back again. I miss you very sore, although Miss Macdonald does everything which one not a wife can do for my comfort, and I have great reason to be thankful. She desires her kind love, and rejoices in your recovery. Tell Maggy she must come to her own papa, or I will come and carry her off across the seas. But now keep of a good heart, that I may see you the sooner."

* This is apparently a reference to the three volumes of Sermons already mentioned.

"Blackheath, 25th July.

"I write this from Miss Stubbs' cottage, whither Miss Macdonald and I have come in order to see and enjoy its beauty, before it pass into the hands of another owner. . . . . Lord Mandeville came to us on Saturday night, and Elizabeth was with us. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Mackenzie dropped in, and we spent a very sweet evening, being chiefly occupied with the Epistle to the Hebrews, upon which his Lordship and I have come to very similar conclusions. . . . . He had been at the Bible Society at Huntingdon, and had to stand in the pillory of Public Opinion. He had written, when invited to take the chair, that he had resolved with himself never to take the chair in any meeting which was not opened with prayer, and, hearing nothing further, concluded they had come to that resolution; but when he found himself in the committee room, all but two opposed it violently. . . 'So,' he said, 'there remain only two ways to proceed, and I leave you your choice: either I will not take the chair and allow the county to put their own construction upon it, or I will take the chair and begin the meeting by an explanation of all that has occurred.' They preferred the last, to which he was not disinclined, lest it might seem that he was acting from ill temper. And so, having opened the matter by this act of lecturing, the meeting proceeded, every speaker levelling against his Lordship's view of the matter, and apologizing for and justifying the Society. . . . . During which exposition they were so given over to an ungovernable mind that they shut their ears with their hands, and even stamped with their feet, and did not refrain themselves from any other expression of disgust and disdain. . . But so it is, dearest, this religious world will outdo the French republicans in their rage against the true servants of the Lord, who shall be faithful enough to withstand them. . . . . Yesterday, though rather weakened in body, I was much strengthened in spirit for the Lord's work, to open, in the morning, the mystery of Christ the first-born from the dead, and therein preferred above all creatures to be the High Priest; and in the evening, to open up the mystery of Baptism as shadowed forth in the judgment and preservation of the deluge. . . . . There is a curious piece of information connected with the *Record* newspaper,

which I resolved to communicate to you, in order to prepare you for that opposition which we are destined to from the religious world. It had come to a stand-still, and was going to be given up, when Mr. Drummond, and Haldane, and Lord Mandeville, and a few others, resolved to take it up and make it a truly Christian paper, adopting *jure divino* doctrine with respect to Church and State at home, and Protestant principles with respect to our foreign affairs, such as Cromwell taught Papal Europe to fear. The moment it was heard by the religious world (the Evangelical) that it was coming into the hands of such men, they rallied themselves, subscribed plentifully, and are resolved to carry it on. . . . Such is the idea entertained of us, and such is the present standing of the *Record* religious newspaper. Prepare yourself, my love, for casting out of the synagogue. I am sure it will come to this, and that, according to our faithfulness in testifying to the death, will be our acceptancy and admission into the kingdom of the Lord. . . . . Beloved, I desire you to love me as I love you, and let us love one another as one self, not as one another, but one — the same."

"31st July.

"However short the time I can snatch, I know, though it were but a line that I wrote, it will yield you pleasure as a token of my affection; and therefore I do not hesitate, in the midst of my many occupations, to send you these hasty and most insufficient letters. . . . In the mean time, I have been slowly working out Mr. Drummond's book; for, as usual, I always feel myself pressed with a superfluity of matter, which I take as a gracious token of the Lord's goodness, and a call, at the same time, not to slacken in my endeavours to arouse the Church. It would have pleased you to see almost the whole body of the church full last night, listening to the exposition of the last part of the nineteenth chapter of the Revelation. I believe the Spirit cannot now be quenched. I feel the assurance of it, that the Lord's people are destined to make a stand in this place for His truth. The Dissenters are showing signs of fear in beginning to organise a lecture for next winter upon the subject of unfulfilled prophecy; and I hear they are prevailing against me in various parts, and

that I am generally reported amongst them as a man wholly mad. I trust there is enough of method in my madness to expose all their treachery to Christ and His Church. About fifteen of the chief Protestant noblemen, with the Duke of Gordon at their head, have begun to organise amongst themselves a Protestant Association, to act not as a body, but with a mutual understanding in their several parts of the country. They begin now to perceive the sanctimonious mask of Satan concerning the Sacraments when it is too late. . . . . Elizabeth was with us a good part of yesterday. We went out and looked at some houses, but as yet I see none to my mind; and, indeed, I am rather disposed, if I could bring it about, to take a lodging for you and the children somewhere in the neighbourhood of town, and to come in and out myself for some months until you are strong. I would like to hear your mind upon this subject. . . . . Miss Macdonald and I amuse ourselves amongst hands with reading a very curious German book of travels, full of beautiful plates—above all measure interesting. I think I shall be beyond you in German when you return, for I begin to like it very much: it is a rare book for Maggy, the plates are so magnificent. I heard from George the other day by Mr. R——, and I have remitted him 30*l.* in clearing of his expenses and enabling him to return. . . . . Would you believe it, that the Baptist minister refused to baptize Miss C——, because she declared that she expected the grace of the Holy Ghost in the ordinance? Indeed, there is no saying to what lengths they will go. They will now stop at nothing. . . . . God preserve my Margaret and Samuel unto the eternal kingdom! I often think woefully of the pair that are gone before; but I ought not. The Lord preserve me from all murmurings; but I am a very wicked man. The Lord alone can keep me in peace and tranquillity."

"Mornington Terrace, Hampstead Road,
"4th August.

"On this day and at this hour, thirty-six years ago, I entered into this sinful world, and very evil have been the days of my pilgrimage, and sore grieved am I this morning to look out upon the past. Nothing could comfort me but the

blessed revelation that it is so ordered of the Lord that our flesh should be full only of sin, and that by this ordinance His glory is advanced. This is not, 'Let us sin that grace may abound,' but it is, 'The grace of God aboundeth by my sin,' and, therefore, I am born a sinner, and, being so, I am not to be discontented or murmur against God, but betake myself to the remedy which He hath provided, which remedy will only lay open the disease more, and force us out of ourselves into the Redeemer. The number of sins which I have committed are to me profitable to reflect upon only as they confirm the truth, which, by faith, I have received and hold, that the whole race of mankind is fallen, and, as such, cannot cease from sin. He that hath believed this is further advanced than the greatest spiritualist, who seeks and sighs that he may be torn up with racking emotions and painful workings of remorse. The work of the Spirit, in convincing of sin, is not by agonising convictions, and bringing of us, as it were, to hell's mouth, but by a calm and settled avoiding of ourselves and the fallen world, always for the preference of Christ and the world to come. I therefore desire and pray, both for myself and for my own dear wife, that we may at all times prefer the glory of God in Christ revealed, to that temporary well-being of the creature, which is to be found in this fallen world. There is a well-being and perfection of the creature to be found here, otherwise there would be no glory to God in our preference of that eternal perfection which we have in Christ. In this way the Holy Spirit acteth in and upon us, not by making us insensible to the worldly well-being, but, while we are alive thereto, by leading us to prefer our better being in Christ. He hath not a pleasure in cruelty, or torturing us with what so many seek to have worked up in their experiences of a great and grievous sort, but He delighteth in our peace and joy, and giveth us to see the excellency and loveliness of our blessed Jesus, who hath been tried with every infirmity of the fallen creature, which in us becometh sin, but in Him stayed at infirmity and temptation. In perceiving that our Lord's flesh was altogether such as ours, we may well be comforted, dear Isabella, to abide in this flesh, all-sinful though it be, and await the good pleasure of the Lord. So may we, having a body conversant only with wickedness, and in itself com-

petent only to the suggestion of sin, be so possessed with the Spirit of Christ (not the Holy Ghost in his unlimited divinity, but the Spirit of Christ, that is, the Holy Ghost, proceeding through the man-soul of Christ, and bringing with Him the humanity of Christ, His holy humanity, to bear up against, and overcome, our wicked humanity. Oh, blessed mystery!) that we may, notwithstanding of the flesh animated only to evil, be able to love and obey God from the heart. In all these thoughts, instructions, and prayers to and for my beloved wife, I have my sweet children in my mind no less than their mother, whom God beholdeth all represented by me. So may I bear them for ever on my heart!

"Our dear friend, Mr. Paget of Leicester, was in church all yesterday, and kindly came down to converse, during part of the interval. I wish you knew him. He is truly a divine—more of a divine than all my acquaintances. . . . . He also, like Campbell and Erskine, sees Christ's death to be on account of the whole world, so as that He might be the Lord both of the election and the reprobation, and that it is the will of God to give eternal life by the Holy Ghost to whom it pleaseth Him. I first came to the conviction of that truth on that Saturday when, at Harrow, after breakfasting with a bishop and a vicar, I sat down to prepare a meal for my people. He thinks the Calvinistic scheme confines this matter by setting forth Christ as dying, instead of, whereas there is no stead in the matter, but on account of, for the sake of, to bring about reconciliation. He also thinks that the righteousness of Christ which is imputed to us, is not the righteousness of the ten commandments, which He kept, and which is only a fleshly righteousness, but the righteousness into which He hath entered by the resurrection—that super-celestial glory whereof we now partake, being one with Him, and living a resurrection life. This I believe; and I take it to be a most important distinction indeed.

"Mr. Drummond was at church last night, and brought me as far as Miss Macdonald's in his carriage. He was telling me a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, if it be true, namely, that the Tribes have been discovered, twenty millions in number, inhabiting the region north of Cashmere and towards Bokhara, in the great central plain of Asia. It would

seem that there came men from them to Leipsic fair, who brought this intelligence. They were trading in Cashmere shawls. . . . I will let you know more of this when I hear further concerning it. I am to dine with Mr. Drummond this day week, to settle who are to be of the Albury Conference. He seems to think that we must select with more caution, as some of the people last year have not been very faithful. I hope it is only malicious report. Oh, that we were filled with the love and the life of Christ! I have had but a restless night, and I write this fasting. It is just striking twelve upon the Somers-town church, which is almost right opposite my window, with a green grass park full of milch cows* between, which I overlook on this sweet autumn-like morning. My dear brother! oh, my brother! how oft, on such mornings, have we rejoiced in our childhood together; and behold thy visible part moulders in the dust far away, and mine abideth here still. May we meet at the throne of the glory of God! This is not a prayer for the dead, but for the living. Miss Macdonald is to come at twelve to write. What excellence is wrapped up in that name—right-hearted, tender-hearted woman! Thou art, indeed, a comfort to me in the absence of my wife and children,—worth many sisters. Farewell, my dear Isabella; make no tarrying to return; our time may be short together, let it be sweet. I bless the children in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

"15th August.

"God hath enabled us, my dear wife, to be in perfect resignation to His will, and in much affliction to say, 'Thy will be done!' His actings in Providence are the declarations of His sovereignty, and our receiving them with thankfulness is our thankful acknowledgment of the same. Therefore, to me and mine be it according to the will of God. I did rejoice exceedingly when I found that He had been pleased to shine on us with His face, and I trust He will continue to do so more and more. It is very sweet to me to receive your letters, and to bear the share of your burdens. I have thought

* This description will startle the present inhabitants of that crowded and busy district.

it might conduce to your health and the children's to try the air of Monimail, and, if that did not recruit you, might it not be advisable to try the very mild air of Annan or Moffat? But act in this matter as you judge best. I think our desires are equal, to be separated no longer than is absolutely necessary.

"Your prayers concerning my books have been answered, in one respect already, that yesterday and to-day I have been directed, I think, in great wisdom, and delivered from great perplexity. You know how the book for the Church hath passed to three volumes. It is now my purpose to make it three complete volumes, and not to burden the Church with the risk, but to give them Mr. Drummond's book*, which I think will come into immediate and wide circulation, the expense being already provided for. And now, having the other work on my hand, I propose adding to the first part another discourse upon the 'Method of the Incarnation,' which will complete the whole doctrine . . . . and this done, I offer the thousand copies to any bookseller in Edinburgh, being resolved to bring it out in the heart of my Mother Church, as containing the whole doctrine on which she is become so feeble, and containing, besides, much prophetic matter, and much natural and ecclesiastical, which may prepare the way for the other work, upon which I find I must at least spend a diligent winter. This, therefore, I intend immediately to arrange for, by means of my friend, Mr. Bridges, to whom I will write, and ask him to negotiate with the booksellers for me. This I think a very great deliverance, and humbly trust to see prosperous unto the Church of Christ and the glory of God. The additional discourse will bring the first volume up to the size of the other two, being 400 pages; and I will distinctly state the reason of it to be my becoming aware of the existence of the heresy in the Church. Be of good cheer: the Lord is not raising a controversy about these things for naught.

"I am now sleeping at Mr. Hamilton's, but working here

* By "Mr. Drummond's book," Irving evidently means the *Last Days*, Mr. Drummond, it would appear, having specially suggested or approved it.

with my most faithful fellow-workman; and I trust attaining to deeper and deeper insight into the mystery of God, as also is my flock. To-night we begin Ezekiel at Mr. Tudor's, and I trust the Lord will be with us. Mr. Marsh intends to be of our party. And Miss Macdonald has consented to accompany me . . . . . Mr. Drummond told us that the new London College was an idea of the Archbishop's, thrown out to the King, without thinking he would approve it. But he did at once, and the Archbishop pledged the Bishops, who were invited to Lambeth, knowing not wherefore, as a Bishop told Mr. ——. When they were come together, the Archbishop told them he had pledged them to the King. They were loath, but could not draw back, and consented, in the hope it might come to nothing. The Lord leads men blindly; it is now come to 100,000*l.*, and will go on, I hope, to the defeat of the infidel, or to the showing out the Dissenters as the opposers of religion established, and the preferrers of infidelity un-established, and the establishers of it. Dr. Sumner, now Bishop of Chester, was in Hatchard's, and said to a clergyman whom he met there, 'I have a note here to wait upon the Duke of Wellington. Tell me where he lives.' He went, was back in about ten minutes, and the clergyman was still there. 'You have soon got your business over.' 'Yes, and in so short a time I am promoted to the see of Chester. I was shown into a room,—in came the Duke: Are you Dr. Sumner? I am commanded to offer you the bishopric of Chester. Do you accept it or not? Yes? Then put down your name here. Good morning.' And so he left him. This is from good authority, Mr. Drummond says. I send it to amuse you and your father. . . . . The Lord bless you and my children, and all your house."

"18th August.

"I am glad to-day to have no accounts from you, concluding that dear Samuel is recovering, and that the mild weather will be blessed to the speedy restoration of your strength; yet, while I thus hope and pray, I desire to submit myself and mine to the great Sovereign Disposer, who ordereth all according to the pleasure of His own will. I feel that this is, indeed, to feel and to act upon my election of God, to surrender

all things unto Him as a righteous and tender father, in which I know you labour along with me. By the blessing of God I continue equal to my duties. . . . . I am, indeed, very anxious that you should remove before those cold winds, which proved in God's hand fatal to our dear Edward. Whenever you do propose it, you should begin to have preparations made for your removal in such time as to leave you nothing to do for a day or two before, but to take leave of your family and step into the carriage or the boat. . . . . You may think this is shooting far ahead, but I am, indeed, desirous that you and my children should be with me as soon as is consistent with health and safety;—for I dread these east winds, and I long to be your nurse, if not in bodily, at least in spiritual matters.

"I have signed a contract with Seeley for the three volumes, to the first of which I intend to add a fifth sermon, demonstrative of Christ's true humanity. I take all the risk, pay the printers, and have a guinea for each copy, allowing him 5*l.* per cent., which, if they sell, will leave me 1000*l.*, and the expenses of printing, &c., will be about half of it. It is provided that I may have separate agents for Glasgow and Edinburgh, with whom (Collins and Oliphant, I propose, with your judgment) I will make a similar contract for those which they may sell. Miss Macdonald has already pressed upon me 300*l.*, which she has no use for at the bankers, to pay the printing. It is a book for much good or evil, both to the Church and myself, I distinctly foresee. I intend to read it all over with the utmost diligence, and correct it with the greatest care. The other book is proceeding fast—we are now about the 350th page; it will be about 450. I have the sweetest testimonies, both from Ireland and from Mr. Maclean, to my book on Baptism — or rather, I should say, yours — for to you, I believe, the thoughts were given, as to you they are dedicated. My little tale is now completed, about eighteen pages, and I have asked a revise, that I may send it to you under cover. We have had a *pro-re-nata* meeting of Presbytery, and I am much exhausted. I shall now close with my blessing; the blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be upon the head of my dear wife, and my two children, for ever and ever."

The "little tale" here referred to was a quaint and graceful little narrative, entitled a *Tale of the Times of the Martyrs*, which his countryman, Allan Cunningham, then engaged in the arduous occupation of editing an Annual, had persuaded him to write. The Annual in question was the *Anniversary*, a publication which, I believe, lived and died in one appearance. Irving's story is a fine piece of writing, in the same style of minute and simple narrative as his journals, but is chiefly remarkable as his only attempt in the lighter form of literature, excepting, indeed, another brief narrative, equally minute, quaint, and melancholy, entitled *The Loss of the Abeona*, which appeared in *Frazer's Magazine* nearly about the same time. Both are *true*, detailed, and simple to the last degree, and convey the reader into a primitive world of heightened, but profoundly reserved, Scotch imagination, very remarkable and impressive in its way. How he could have found time for such elaborate, minute cabinet pictures, amid all his great labours and studies, is more than one can understand.

His next letters are occupied with a project of visiting Harrogate, which Mr. Drummond had proposed to him. Irving's health was shaken at the time; at least he was in such a condition of discomfort, as the strongest frames, shut out from external nature, and pursued by an incessant flood of thought, are naturally liable to. His doctor told him that, "as my complaints proceed rather from an excess of health and disarrangement of the functions through much thought, they (the Harrogate waters) would be of little good or evil to so robust a person;" yet, tempted by Mr. Drummond's

society, and by the fact that Harrogate was so far on his way to the North, whither he was anxious to go to bring home his wife, of whose prolonged absence he began to be very impatient, he seems to have persuaded himself to the contrary, and went accordingly. From Harrogate he writes as follows :—

"9th September, 1828.

"My dear Isabella,—We arrived here last night about twelve o'clock, and now that I have paid my respects to the well and breakfast, I sit down to write you with Mr. Drummond's pen, ink, and paper, but with my own heart. . . I do trust this my coming here is ordered of the Lord for the restoration of my strength, that I may serve Him with more diligence and ability during the winter. Lately, there has been too great a sympathy between my head and my stomach, so much so as to cause slight headaches ever after eating. . . . . I doubt not that the root of the matter is study, which of late has been with me of a deeper, intenser, and clearer kind than at any former period of my life, as I think will appear in the things which are now in the hands of the printers. Besides the conclusion of my book on the *Last Times*, I have written 150 or 160 of Miss Macdonald's pages upon the *Method of the Incarnation*. . . . . It will be a body and centre to the whole discourse, which now has a perfectly logical method : 1. The origin or fountain head of the whole in the will of God. 2. The end of it unto His glory. 3. The method of it by the union with the fallen creature. 4. The act of it by the life and death of the God-man, and His descent into hell. 5. The fruits of it in grace and peace to mankind; and, finally, conclusions concerning the Creator and the creature. If I mistake not, my dear Isabella, there is much more to God's glory in that volume than in all my other writings put together. . . . I have been strongly impressed, at the conclusion of the book, with the necessity of undertaking a work upon the Holy Spirit and the Church, but whether in the way of a completion of the introduction to *Ben-Ezra*, or in a separate treatise, I am not

yet resolved; and then, if God spare me, I undertake a work upon the Trinity. What most blessed themes these are! They ravish my heart, and fill me with the most enlarged and exquisite delight. . . . Oh, my dear Isabella, how I long to be with you again, and to be one with you, unseparated by distance of place or interruption of vision, and to embrace my dear children! God grant me patience and constancy of affection, and a heart of more tenderness."

"17th September.

"I dare say this water would do me good, if I were to stay long enough, for it seems to enter into strong controversy with my complaint, and I think in the end would overcome it. But stay I cannot, for my communion hastens, and my duties call me to London. This is truly my chief reason for not delaying my journey to Scotland so long as you seem to have desired. To remain separate for a whole half year from my wife and children is to me no small trial. When God requires it, I trust I shall be able to submit to it; but when there is no such call, I freely confess myself little disposed to it. . . . Besides, though we know differently, such separations lead to idle speculation, which it is good to prevent. That it is possible to prevent intrusion in London I have found during the last two months; and if London do not agree with you, I should be glad to take a place for you wherever you please, but I confess myself very loath to be separated from you and my children longer than is necessary, and shall be slow in consenting to it again.

"The other day the new Bishop of Chester, Dr. Sumner, confirmed about two or three hundred persons. He had been instituted, or consecrated, only the day before at Bishopthorpe, the residence of the Archbishop of York, and made this his first duty. It was to me very impressive, and I hope very profitable. . . . His brother, the Bishop of Winchester, bore him company, and I was much impressed with the episcopal authority and sanctity of their appearance. Indeed, the more I look into the Church of England, the more do I recognise the marks of a true Apostolical Church, and desire to see somewhat of the same ecclesiastical dignity transferred to the office-bearers of our Church; which hath the same orders of

bishops, priests or presbyters or elders, and deacons, whereof the last is clean gone, the second little better, and the first hath more of worldly propriety, or literary and intellectual character, than of episcopal authority and grave wisdom. Oh, that the Lord would revive His work in our land! In what I have said I do not affect the ceremony, or state, or wealth of the English Church, but desire to see some more of the true primitive and Scottish character of our Church restored. I would wish every parish minister to fulfil the bishop's office, every elder the priest's, and every deacon the deacon's; and I am convinced that, till the same is attempted, through faith in the ordinances, we shall not prosper in the government and pastorship of our churches.

"To-day I have received a copy of Dr. Hamilton's book against Millenarianism, and have been reading it all this morning: I think it breathes a virulent spirit, and seeks occasions of offence. I receive my share of his censure. I said to your father I would answer it, but as yet I have found nothing to answer, save his attempt to expose my inconsistencies with others, and theirs with me. Now, verily, I am not called upon to be consistent with any one but God's own Word. Still, if I had time, I would, for the sake of the Church of Scotland, which I love, and to which I owe my duty, undertake an answer to it; but at present my hands are filled. I wish Samuel would break a spear with him.

"I shall drink the waters till Friday morning, and then proceed on my way to York, from which I will take the first coach that I can get to Edinburgh. . . . . On Monday, I trust, the Lord willing, I will be permitted to embrace you all. . . Tell Maggy that she must make herself ready to set out on this day week for London. My dear Samuel is oft on my mind at the throne of Grace. God alone can convey my messages to him."

So concluded this separation, which at length made the solitary head of the house impatient, and produced the nearest approach to ill-temper which is to be found in any of Irving's letters. He conveyed his family home to Miss Macdonald's house in the end of September,

where they seem to have remained for a considerable time, their kind hostess forming one of the household. The ceaseless occupation of this year is something wonderful to contemplate. The *Homilies on Baptism*, the three volumes of sermons, and the *Last Days*, were but a portion of the works so liberally undertaken, and so conscientiously carried out. In the intervals of those prodigious labours he had not only his own pastoral work to carry on from week to week, but, by way of holiday, indulged in a preaching tour with sermons every day; threw himself into the concerns of the time with a vehemence as unusual as it was all opposed to the popular tide of feeling, and became the centre of a description of study, known, when it throws its fascination upon men, to be the most absorbing which can occupy human intelligence. In this height and fulness of his life men of all conditions sought Irving, with their views of Scripture and prophecy. He heard all, noted all, and set to work in his own teeming brain to find place and arrangement for each. The patience with which he listens to every man is as remarkable as the cloud of profound and incessant thought in which his mind seems enveloped, without rest or interval; and his perpetual human helpfulness is equally notable. When the Presbytery of London, doubtless moved by his own exertions, sends forth a pastoral letter to the Scotch community in London, it is Irving who takes the pen and pours forth, like a prophet, his burden of grief and yearning, his appeal and entreaty, and denouncing voice, calling upon those baptized members of the Church of Scotland who have forgotten their mother, to return to her care and love;

and scarcely are these grave entreaties over, than at a friend's impulsion he is again devoting his leisure hours—those hours full of everything but rest—to that grave picture of the martyr's son, which must have startled the ordinary readers of Annuals into the strangest emotion and amazement; —while conjoined with all this is the entire detail of a pastor's duties—visits of all kinds, meetings with young men, death-bed conferences, consultations of session and presbytery; into all of which he enters with an interest such as most men can only reserve for the most important portions of their work. So full a stream of life, all rounded and swelling with great throbs of hope and solemn expectation, seldom appears among the feeble and interrupted currents of common existence. It is impossible to understand how there could be one unoccupied moment in it; yet there are moments in which he reads German with Miss Macdonald, or enters into the fascinating gossip of Henry Drummond, or consults with the young wife Elizabeth over her new plenishing, and what is needful to her house. Though they meet in solemn session in the evening, upon the high mysteries of Ezekiel, he makes cheerful errands forth with this sister to look at houses, and prepares by anticipation for the return of those still dearer to him, and has domestic tidings of all his friends to send to his lingering and delicate wife. Amid all, he feels that this time, so full and prosperous—this period in which he has come to the middle of life's allotted course, the top of the arch, as Dante calls it,—is a time of wonderful moment to himself no less than to his Church. He feels that his studies have been "of a deeper, intenser, and clearer

kind than at any former period of my life." He "distinctly foresees" that one of the books he is about to publish is "a book for much good or evil, both to the Church and myself," though convinced that there is also more for God's glory in it than "in all my other writings put together:" he has, in short, come to the threshold of a new world, which yet he cannot see, but which vaguely thrills him with prophetic tremors — a world to him radiant with ever-unfolding truth, persecutions, glories, martyrdoms, one like unto the Son of Man in the midst of the fiery burning with him, and the Lord visible in the flesh, vindicating his saints at the end. Such was not the future which awaited the heroic devoted soul; but such was the form in which his anticipations presented it now.

I may be pardoned for lingering on this splendid and overflowing year. Irving had already controversies enough on hand; vulgar antagonists, whom he scorned; assaults from without which could not harm him, having no point of vantage upon his heart; but nothing which touched his life or honour. He had enemies; but none whose enmity wounded him. Everything he had touched as yet had opened and sublimed under his hand; and no authoritative voice had yet interfered to attempt to drive back to doctrine and forms of words a man whose faith seized upon a Divine reality instead, and converted dogmas into things. He stood, open-eyed and eager, trembling on the verge of an opening world of truth, every particular of which was yet to gleam forth as vivid on his mind as those which he had already apprehended out of the dim domain of theology. And other men, who had

also found light unthought of gleaming out of the familiar text which use had dulled to most, were gathering round him, bringing each his trembling certainty, his new hope. Whether they were right or wrong had as yet come under the question of no serious tribunal. Wrong or right, it was the love of God glowing radiant over the human creatures he had made that inspired them all; and to many an eye less vivid than Irving's, this wonderful combination seemed the beginning of a new era, the manifestation of a higher power. For himself, he was at the height of his activity and the fulness of his powers: his anticipations were all grand, like his thoughts. He looked for suffering on an heroic scale, not the harassing repetitions of Presbyterial prosecution; and he looked to be splendidly vindicated at the last by the Lord himself, in glory and majesty. His heart swelled and his thoughts rose upon that high tide of hope and genius; shades of passing ailment might now and then glide across him; but it was "excess of strength" resisting the intellectual and spiritual commotions within, and not any prevision of bodily weakness. His friends stood round him close and cordial, an undiminished band; and every vein throbbing with life, and every capacity of heart and mind in the fullest sway of action, he marched along in the force and fulness of his manhood, prescient of splendid conflict and great sorrow; unaware and unbelieving of failure or defeat.

In the beginning of winter he paid a hurried visit to Leicester, to his friend Mr. Vaughan, whose life was then nearly drawing to its close. The short time they appear to have had together was spent "conversing

about the things pertaining to our high calling as ministers of the Gospel and Church of Christ." And the letter in which Irving records this is ended by an amusing conjugal advice, more in the strain of ordinary husbands than is common to his chivalrous and tender heart:—"I will hope to be with you, under Miss Macdonald's roof, on Thursday evening, which let us have quietly together," he writes. "And therefore be not over-wearied, for nothing afflicts me so much as to see you incapable of enjoying the society and love for which you do not always give me credit, but which I trust I always feel." And in a postscript, he adds a message to the little daughter, now, at three years old, capable of entering into the correspondence. "Tell Maggy," he says, "that at Dunstable a man would have sold me twelve larks for a shilling, to bake into a pie, four-and-twenty blackbirds baking in a pie; and that at Newport-Pagnell one of the horses laid down when he should have started to run, which is like Meg, not Maggy, when she will not do Ma's bidding, but stands still and cries. Not Maggy, but Meg; for Maggy is like the other three, who would have gone on cheerfully, except when Meg is restive." This is the first appearance of the little woman in the father's letters, which afterwards contain many communications for her. A week or two later he writes from Albury, where the second prophetical conference was now taking place, and after a brief announcement to his wife of his arrival, devotes his second letter from thence entirely to his three-year-old correspondent. I find no more serious account of this second meeting than the one Irving thus sends to his child:—

"My Maggy,—Papa is living in a great house with a great many men who preach. The house is Mr. Drummond's and Lady Harriet Drummond's. They have two daughters and two little boys. . . . . This house where we live is all round with great trees, like great-grandpapa's, and the black crows build their nests, and always cry caw, caw, caw. There is a sweet little river that runs murmuring along, making a gentle noise among the trees. And there is a large, large garden. . . . . Now, my Maggy, tell your papa what he and the great many preaching gentlemen are doing at Albury Park, where Mr. Drummond and Lady Harriet live? We are all reading the Bible, which is God's Word—the book we read at worship. God speaks to us in that book, and we tell one another what He tells to us. Every morning, about half-past six o'clock, a man goes round and awakens us all. Then, soon after, comes a maid, like Elizabeth, and puts on a fire in all our rooms, and then we get up. . . . . Then we go down stairs into a great room and sit round a great table, and speak concerning God and Christ. Here is the table, and all the gentlemen about it." (Here follows a rude drawing of the table, with the names of all the members of the conference scribbled in, in their places, Irving's own seat being distinguished by the title, "My Papa.") "But it is time for dinner. Farewell, my dear Maggy. Mamma will tell all this to you, and you must tell it all to Miss Macdonald and little brother.

"The Lord bless my Maggy!

"Your Papa,

"Edward Irving."

The Albury conference once more produced its volume of records, travestied by a lifeless form and obsolete treatment, out of all human interest; but in Irving's domestic chronicle retains no memorial but this simple description. Immediately after its conclusion his father-in-law, Dr. Martin, writes thus to one of his younger daughters:—

"We had a long letter from Isabella the other day. All with her seems to be well. Edward's visit to Albury had not, she thinks, done him much good, in body at least. The vehemence with which he goes after every object that impresses him is extraordinary. Some things stated at Albury had impressed him much with the ignorance of the poorer population of London, and with the sin of those who are more enlightened in not doing more for their instruction; and he has resolved to preach every night to the poor of London and its vicinity, while Mr. Scott is to do, or at least to attempt to do, the like in Westminster. The Lord be with them! But there are limits to mortal strength,—Mr. Scott's is not great, and Edward's, though more than ordinary, is not invincible. I suppose his conviction of the near approach of the second Advent has been increased by his attendance on the late meeting; and viewing it as the hour of doom to all who are not reconciled to God, he feels it the more imperatively his duty to warn all to flee from the wrath to come. After giving the subject the most careful and impartial consideration I can," adds the sober-minded Scottish pastor, "I am unable to see things as he and his friends do; nay, I am more and more convinced that they are wrong. But supposing them to be right, and they doubtless imagine they are, his conduct, which many will be apt to represent as that of a madman, is that of a generous lover of his fellow-creatures, and a faithful ambassador of Christ."

Such was not the spirit, however, in which Irving's deviations from the ordinary views were to be generally received. He concluded this year with enough of these deviations to alarm any prudent friend. On the subject of the Millennium, and on that of Baptism (his doctrine on which differs from that commonly known as Baptismal Regeneration, by the most inappreciable hair's-breadth), the authorities of the Church seem to have had nothing to say to him, and

to have tacitly admitted these matters to be open to a diversity of opinion. How, doing this, the much more abstruse question concerning the Humanity of Christ should have been exempted from the same latitude and freedom, I am entirely at a loss to conceive, seeing it is, of all disputed questions, perhaps the most unfit to be argued before a popular tribunal. But the mutterings of the storm were already audible; and Irving visibly stood on a tremulous elevation, not only with dawning lights of doctrine, unseen by his brethren around him, but even more deeply at variance in spirit with the time and all its ways. As if his own responsibilities, in the shape of doctrine, had not been enough, he had identified himself, and thrown the glory of his outspoken, unhesitating championship over that which was shortly to be known as the Row Heresy. Everywhere he had "committed himself;" thought or calculation of prudence not being in the man. But at present, though his friends did not all agree with him, and though the scribblers of the religious press were already up in arms against him, no one seems to have feared any interruption of his triumphant and splendid career. Like other invincible generals he had inspired his army with a confidence unconquerable in himself and his destiny. Some of the very closest in that half ecclesiastical, half domestic circle which gathered warmly round him in the new Church at Regent Square, were afterwards to turn upon him, or sadly drop from his side in horror of the heresy, to which now, in its first unconscious statement, they had given in their delighted adhesion.

They did not know it was heresy for long months, almost years afterwards: they believed in him with a unanimity and enthusiasm seldom paralleled. Downfall or confusion, as it seemed, could not approach that fervent and unwearied herald of God.

CHAPTER II.

1829.

THE following year opened with unabated activity. The courage and hopefulness, equally unabated, with which Irving entered upon it, will be seen from a letter addressed to Dr. Chalmers, and apparently written in the very conclusion of December, 1828 (the date being torn off), in which it will be seen that the laborious man, not weaned, among all his other triumphs, from academical ambition, proposed, and was ready to prepare for an academical examination, in order to obtain the highest title in theology. This letter was written immediately after Dr. Chalmers's entrance upon the duties of the Divinity Chair in Edinburgh.

"MY DEAR AND HONOURED FRIEND,—I desire to congratulate you upon the welcome which you have received in the University of Edinburgh, in which I pray that you may have much wisdom and long life to labour. I agree with that which I have gathered of your sentiments with respect to the excessive duties of the chair, beyond the reach of any single man to discharge them aright. Biblical criticism should be the chief object of the Hebrew chair, not the teaching of the letters and the grammar; and, certainly, of the three years spent in the Greek class, at least one should be occupied in the critical study of the New Testament. There is no university in Europe (always excepting the thing called the London University) which would be so ashamed of God and theology as yours, against which I ought not to speak, for she

is my Alma Mater. Then the Church History, instead of dawdling over the first four centuries, should especially be conversant with the history of the Church of Scotland, and the duties incumbent upon a parish priest; in short, what belongs to the Churchman rather than the theologian, and the Hebrew what belongs to the scholar. Then it would be a Theological Faculty indeed. But what pretensions these two classes have at present to that title I am at a great loss to discover. This is spoken in your own ear, for it but ill graces what I am now to turn to.

"I have, you know, a great reverence for antiquity, and especially the antiquity of learning and knowledge: the venerable honours of the academy have ever been very dear to me. At the same time I love the discipline of a university, and set a great value upon a strict examination before any degree is conferred. On this account, when Sir John Sinclair volunteered more than five years ago to obtain for me the degree of Doctor in Divinity, I rejected his offer, because I held it against all academical discipline. While I would not have the thing thus attained, or thus conferred, there is no honour upon earth which I more desire, if the ancient discipline of sitting for it with my theses and defending them in the Latin tongue, submitting to examinations of the learned professors, were restored. Now, I wish you to inquire for me what is the ancient discipline of the university in respect to this degree; and whether it be the privilege of a Master of Arts to ask and demand examination for his degree; and how long he must have been an M.A. to entitle him to do so. I took my degree of A.M. in the year 1809, that is nineteen years ago. If the privilege were granted me of appearing in my place, and submitting myself to trial, I should immediately set about diligent preparations, and might be ready before the next winter, or about that time. I leave this in your hands, and shall wait your answer at your convenience.

"We have had another Albury meeting, and are more convinced than ever of the judgments which are about to be brought upon Christendom, and upon us most especially, if we should go into any league or confederacy with, or toleration of, the papal abomination. I intend, in a few days, to begin a letter to the Church of Scotland on the subject.

They intend setting forth quarterly a Journal of Prophecy, which may stir up the Church to a consideration of her hopes. I think there is some possibility of my being in Edinburgh next May. Will any of the brethren permit me the use of their Church to preach a series of sermons upon the Kingdom, founded upon passages in the New Testament? Sandy Scott is a most precious youth, the finest and the strongest faculty for pure theology I have yet met with. Yet a rough sea is before him, and, perhaps, before more than him. I trust the Lord will give you time and leisure to consider the great hope of the Church first given to Abraham: 'That she shall be heir of the world.' Certainly it is the very substance of theology. The second coming of the Lord is the '*point de vue*,' the vantage ground, as one of my friends is wont to word it, from which, and from which alone, the whole purpose of God can be contemplated and understood. You will sometimes see my old friend and early patron, Professor Leslie: please assure him of my grateful remembrances. I desire my cordial affection to Mrs. Chalmers and the sisterhood. Farewell. The Lord prosper your labours abundantly, and thereto may your own soul be prospered.

"Your faithful and affectionate friend and brother,

"EDWARD IRVING."

This letter, sent by the hand of a relative, Dr. Macaulay, who was "desirous of paying his respects to one whom he admires and loves very much," was followed, at a very short interval, by another, asking advice on a very delicate point of ecclesiastical order, which Irving states as follows: —

"London, 5th January, 1829,
"13 Judd Place, East.

"MY DEAR SIR,—This case has occurred to us as a Session on which it has been resolved to consult you, our ancient friend, and any other doctors or jurists of the Church with whom you may please, for the better and fuller knowledge of the matter, to consult. It is, whether the Church permit baptism by immersion or not. The standards seem not to

declare a negative, but only to affirm that baptism by sprinkling is sufficient. In the Church of England, the rule of baptizing infants is by immersion, and the exception is by sprinkling. I sought counsel of our Presbytery in this matter, which once occurred in an adult, as it has now occurred in an infant. They seemed to be of the mind that there was no rule, but only practice, against it, and advised, upon the ground of expediency, to refrain. . . . . The father, who is a member of the Church, is a most pious and worthy man, full of forbearance to others, but very firmly, and from much reading, convinced of the duty of baptizing by immersion only. He has waited some time, and the sooner we could ascertain the judgment of the Church the better. . . . My own opinion is, that our standards leave it as a matter of forbearance, preserving the sprinkling, — the Church of England the same, preserving immersion. I am sorry to trouble you who have so much to do, but the mere writing of the judgment would satisfy us. And as you are now the head of the theological faculty, as well as our ancient friend, the Session thought of no other, at whose request I write. . . . .

"Your affectionate friend,

"EDWARD IRVING."

So dutiful and eager to know the mind of the Church was the man whose long conflict against her authorities was now just commencing. If Dr. Chalmers answered these letters, the answers have not been preserved; nor have I the least information what the head of the theological faculty said to that old-world application for an examination and trial by which the candidate for theological honours might *win* his degree. Irving was never to get within sight of that testimony of the Church's approval — far from that, was verging, had he but known it, upon her censures and penalties. But though this year upon which he had just entered was one of the most strenuous and incessant defence and

assertion of doctrine, though its whole space was occupied with renewed and ever stronger settings forth of the truth, which with growing fervour he held to embody the very secret of the Gospel, his position, to his own apprehension, was in no respect that of a heretic assailed. On the contrary, he conceived himself to stand as the champion of Orthodox truth against a motley crowd of heretics; and with this idea, calmly at first, and with more and more vehemence as he began to discover how great was the array against him, devoted himself to the assertion and proof of a doctrine which, when he stated it, he knew not that any man doubted. Throughout all his contentions he never abandoned this position. First surprised, then alarmed, not for himself but for the Church, afterwards, and not till a long interval had elapsed, indignant, he continued steadily to hold this attitude. Even when the Church uttered her thunders, he stood dauntless, the Church's real champion, the defender of her orthodox belief, the faith once delivered to the saints. Such was his position, to his own thinking, in the struggle which was beginning. He did everything that man could do, privately, calmly, with unparalleled forbearance sometimes, sometimes with vehemence and rashness, to set forth fairly and fully before the world the doctrine he held. He supported it with an array of authorities difficult to get over; with quotations from the fathers and standards of entire Christendom, with arguments and appeals to Scripture, almost always with a noble eloquence which came warm from his heart. In private letters, in sermons, in every method by which he could come into communication with the world, he

repeated, and expounded, and defended, this momentous matter of belief.

It is unnecessary that I should give any account of a question which he states so fully and so often in his own words, nor is it my business to pronounce upon the right or wrong of a theological question. But I think I am warranted in pointing out again the deeply disingenuous guise in which this matter was first set before the public. When the difference appears thus, according to his own statement of it, "Whether Christ's flesh had the grace of sinlessness and incorruption from its proper nature, or from the indwelling of the Holy Ghost,—I say the latter," it is a difference which certainly may exist, and may be discussed, but which cannot shock the most reverent mind. But when, on the other hand, it is stated as an heretical maintenance of the "sinfulness of Christ's human nature," the matter changes its aspect entirely, and involves something abhorrent to the most superficial of Christians. But in this way it was stated by every one of Irving's opponents; and attempts were made to lead both himself and his followers into speculations of what might have happened if the Holy Ghost had not, from its earliest moment of being, inspired that human nature, which were as discreditable to the questioners as aggravating to men who held the impossibility of sinfulness in our Saviour as warmly and entirely as did those who called them heretics. The real question was one of the utmost delicacy and difficulty, a question which the common world could only alter and travestie; re-presenting and re-confuting, and growing indignant over a dogma which itself had

invented. Only by such a statement of it, which, if not distinctly false, was thoroughly disingenuous, could it at all have been brought into a platform question, for common discussion before the untrained and inexact public.

In the early spring, the first number of the *Morning Watch*, a quarterly journal of prophecy, to which he alludes in his letter to Dr. Chalmers as meditated by the leading members of the Albury Conference, came into being. Its editor was Mr. Tudor, a gentleman now holding a high office in the Catholic Apostolic Church. (I take, without controversy, the name assumed by itself; gladly granting, as its members maintain, that to designate it a sect of *Irvingites* is equally unjust to its supposed founder and itself.) Irving took advantage by this publication to explain and open up the assailed doctrine, already popularly known as the doctrine of the Humanity, reasserting all his former statements with renewed force and earnestness. Besides this, the chief thing which appears to me remarkable in these early numbers of the *Morning Watch*, is the manner in which Irving pervades the whole publication. Amid eight or ten independent writers his name occurs, not so much an authority, as an all-influencing unquestionable presence, naturally and simply suggesting itself to all as somehow the centre of the entire matter. They speak of him as the members of a household speak of its head; one could imagine that the name might almost be discarded, and "he" be used as its significant and unmistakable symbol. To realise the fulness of this subtle, unspoken influence, it is necessary to glance at this publication, which has fallen out of the recol-

lection of the greater part of the world. I do not remember to have met any similar instance of unconscious, unquestioned pre-eminence. No man there but is ready to stand up for every word he utters, for every idea he advances; ready, even before knowing what the accusation is, to challenge the world in his behalf. It is hero-worship of the most absolute, unconscious kind,—all the more absolute that it is unconscious, and that neither the object nor the givers of that loyal allegiance are aware to what extent it goes.

I cannot pass over the beginning of this year without quoting some portion of a letter of consolation addressed to his friend Mr. Bridges, in Edinburgh, who had just then lost his wife. Irving's own wife was at this time subject to the ever-recurring ailments of a young mother, and often in a state of health which alarmed her friends; and it was accordingly with double emotion that he heard of the death of another young mother, she who, timid of his own approach, had forgotten all her alarm at sight of his reception of her babies. The news went to Irving's sympathetic heart.

"My dear and worthy Friend,—Now is your hour of trial, and now is your time to glorify God. Out of all comparison, the heaviest trial of a man is upon you. Now, then, is the time for your proved faith to show its strength, and to prove it unto honour and glory in the day of the Lord. The Father plants us, and then says, 'Blow every blast, and root up the plant which I have planted:' our faith standing fast proves that He has planted us to bring Him honour and glory against a fallen world, which we overcome without any visible help. The Father gives us as sheep unto Christ, and says, 'Now, ye wolves, snatch them if ye can.' The afflictions

and adversities of the world, yea, and the hiding of the Father's countenance, also come against us; our faith, however, stands fast in the Lord. Christ is glorified as the good Shepherd. As affection is proved by adversity, so is faith in God proved by trial; as a work is proved by enduring hardship, so is the work of the Spirit proved by sore visitations of God. God sendeth them all in order to bless us, and glorify Himself in our blessedness with Himself. Oh, my brother, I write these things to you because I know you are of the truth; your faith standeth not in man but God. . . . . I believe the time of tribulation is at hand, and that God will spare us that wait for Him, as one that spareth his own son that serveth him. . . . . Oh, how my loving and beloved friends are removed! They are taken from me whom God gave me for comforters. My own heart is sore pressed;—what must yours be, my excellent and bountiful friend? But I wait His coming, and wait upon His will. May the Lord comfort you with these words which I have written, with His own truth, with His own spirit.

"Your faithful and affectionate friend,

"EDWARD IRVING."

These letters are all dated from Judd Place, another street in the same locality, where he had again entered upon the possession of his own house. Here he remained as long as he occupied the Church in Regent Square. There are various doubtful traditions in existence which describe how he used to be seen lying upon the sooty London grass of the little oasis in Burton Crescent, his great figure extended upon the equivocal green sward, and all the children in those tiny gardens playing about and around him,—which was most like to be the case, though I will not answer for the tale. This entire district, however, most undistinguished and prosaic as it is, gathers an interest in its homely names, from his visible appearance amid its noise and tumult. His remarkable figure was known in those dingy

scorched streets, in those dread parallelograms of Bloomsbury respectability. The greater number of his friends were collected within that closely populated region, to which the new Church in Regent Square now gave a centre—as it still gives a centre to a little Scotch world, half unaware, half disapproving, of Irving, who tread the same streets and pray within the same walls, and are as separate and national as he.

This spring was once more occupied by thoughts and preparations for another visit to Edinburgh, on the same high errand as had formerly engaged him there. A letter of anxious instructions to his friend Mr. Macdonald, about the necessary arrangements for the course of lectures he meant to deliver, shows that he had already more difficulty than on a former occasion in finding a place to preach in.

"I yesterday received a most fraternal letter from Dr. Dickson," he writes, "most politely and upon very reasonable grounds of damage and danger to the House, refusing me the use of the West Kirk, and I am perfectly satisfied. Indeed, it is as it should be, and as I anticipated it would be. The subject I have to open is too common and concerning to be confined to the walls of a house: it ought to be open as the day to all hearers from the streets and the bye-ways, and from everywhere. . . . . You who know law, and are wise as concerneth this world as well as concerneth the world to come, see if there be anything to prevent me preaching in the asylum of the King's Park; and, if not, then signify by public advertisement in one or two of the papers, and by handbill and otherwise to this effect:—'I hereby give notice that, God willing and prospering, I will preach a series of discourses, opening the book of the Revelation in regular order, beginning on Tuesday, the 19th of May, at six o'clock in the evening; and continuing each evening that week; but in the week following, and to the end of the series, at seven o'clock in the morning (not to interfere with the hours of

the General Assembly); and earnestly entreat as many of my fellow-churchmen as love the exposition of the holy Word, and that Book which is specially blessed and forbidden to be sealed, to attend on these discourses designed for the edification of the Church. The place of meeting will be in the open air (here insert the place), where our fathers were not afraid nor ashamed to worship.

"'EDWARD IRVING, A.M.

"'Minister of the National Scotch Church, London.'

"Let this be stuck up on the corner of every street; and for the rest we will trust to God. I believe the Lord will not fail me in this purpose, from which nothing on earth shall divert me. I will do it, though they should carry me bound hand and foot to prison. So awfully necessary do I now see it to be. . . . . Let there be no tent: a chair on which I can sit and stand. Choose a place where the people may slope upwards, and so that we can wheel with the wind. Pray much for me. I never undertook so much or so important a thing. Ask the prayers of all who will not laugh it to scorn."

These arrangements were, however, unnecessary. Edinburgh did not see that sight which might have been as striking as any of the modern occurrences endowed with double picturesqueness by her noble scenery. The last representative of the ancient prophets, heroic antique figure, noways belonging to vulgar life, did not utter his message under the shadow of the hills, with his audience ranged on the grassy slopes above him. A place was provided for his accommodation, more convenient, if less noble, in Hope Park Chapel, situated in what is commonly called the south side of Edinburgh; and there he preached this second course of lectures, which he seems to have come to, in spite of all obstacles, with a still deeper sense of their importance than the first.

Before going to Scotland, however, he paid a short visit to Birmingham, with which place, or rather with the Scotch congregation there, he appears to have had a great deal of intercourse. He seems to have preached three sermons there during his short stay; but I refer to it only for the sake of the following letter to his little daughter:—

"My own Meggy, — Papa got down from the coach, and his large book, and his bag, and his cane with the gold head. And a little ragged boy, and his little sister, with ballads to sell, not matches but ballads, trudged and trotted by papa's side. The boy said, 'I will carry your bag, sir.' Papa said, 'I have no pennies, little boy; so go away.' But he would follow papa, he and his little sister, poor children! So papa walked on with his bag under his cloak in one hand, and his book and his staff under his cloak in the other. It was dark, and the lamps were lighted, and it was raining, but still the little ragged boy and his little sister, with the ballads, followed papa—and the boy said, 'I will find you where Mr. Macdonald lives.' So we asked, and walked through very many streets, and came to a house. And the door was open, and I said to the woman, 'Is Mr. Macdonald in?' The woman said, 'No, sir, he is dining out.' Papa said, 'What shall I do? I am come to preach for him to-morrow.' She said, 'There is no sermon to-morrow: till Saturday.' Papa said, 'Are you sure?' She said, 'There is mass in the morning.' Now, my dear Meggy, the mass is a very wicked thing, and is not in our religion, but in a religion which they call Papacy. So papa knew by that word Mass that this was not the right Mr. Macdonald's, but another one. So away papa trudged, his bag, his book, and his staff under his cloak, and the little ragged boy, and his sister with the ballads. Papa was angry at them because they would not go away, and had brought him to a wrong place. But papa had pity upon them, and asked them about their papa and mamma. Their papa was dead, and their mamma was in bed sick at home. So papa took pity upon them, and gave them a silver sixpence — and they went away so glad. I heard them singing as they ran

away home to their poor mother. Now papa trudged back again, not knowing where to find the right Mr. Macdonald. And papa took his bag, and put his cane through it, and swung it over his shoulder upon his back, as he does when he carries Meggy downstairs. . . . . Now, after mamma has read this, tell it over to Miss Macdonald, and ask her to write papa with his stick and his bag over his back, and then tell the tale over to little brother, and kiss him, and say, 'This is a kiss from papa.'"

The picturesque individuality which is inevitable to the man wherever he goes, shows in the most tender light in this little letter. The big, tender-hearted stranger, in his mysterious cloak, with the little vagrants wandering after him in the wet Birmingham streets, paints himself more effectually than the kind domestic friend, whose custom it plainly was to make pictures for his little Maggy, could have done; and who will not believe that this silver sixpence must have brought luck to the poor little ballad-sellers so unwittingly immortalised?

Irving went to Edinburgh as usual by Annan, from which place he writes to his wife:—

"Annan, 14th May, 1829.

"I am arrived safe by the goodness and grace of God. . . . I have been to see the minister and provost, and, as usual, find every thing ready arranged to my mind. This night I begin my preaching at seven o'clock, and to-morrow at the same hour. On Saturday I go up the water to New Bridge village, on General Dirom's property, to preach to the people on that hand. . . . . This will serve the Ecclefechan and Middlebie people. On Sabbath I preach twice in the open air, if there be not room in the church. Give God praise with me that I am counted worthy to preach His truth.

"I made a strong endeavour to gain my point of faith over the points of expediency at Manchester; I cannot say that I

succeeded, and yet I am not without hopes that I have. They incline not to have the minister till they have the house respectably set forth: I protest against that, because I see no end to it. One thing, however, I have prevailed in, for which I doubt not I was sent to Manchester. I have received a full commission to provide a minister for Mr. Grant's church at the works — and I have already chosen Mr. Johnstone, your father's assistant. He will have 100*l.* from the Grants themselves (munificent princes that they are!), with a house and garden, and their favour, which is protection from all want. . . . .

"Edinburgh, 19th May,
"60 Great King Street.

"At Annan I went on with my labours on Thursday and Friday. . . . But the assembly on Sunday passed all bounds. The tent was pitched in the churchyard,—and that not holding the people, we went forth to Mr. Dickson's field, where it is believed nearly ten thousand people listened to the Word, from twelve o'clock to half-past five, with an interval of only an hour. It was a most refreshing day to all of us. I passed on to Dumfries with Margaret and her baby that night, in order to get the mail next morning; and so I arrived safe, leaving all my friends well, praised be the Lord. Before I left Annan, letters came from Dr. Duncan Dumfries, and Mr. Kirkwood, entreating me to preach there, and considering it was so ordered of God, as that they should be the first to ask for my vacant Sabbath, I consented at once, and shall therefore return there the last day I am in Scotland. For in that part there is a strength, Kirkwood and the Dows and Burnside are firm as to the human nature of Christ, which none here is, except Thomas Carlyle. James Haldane has written a pamphlet against me, but there is no strength in it. I called at Dr. Thomson's last night, and fixed to have an hour with him for conversation. Now, for the matter which I have to do in Edinburgh. Hope Park Chapel is the place I am to preach in, if it will hold the people. My commission everybody pronounces a good commission. But it will be stiffly called in question, and I fear will have a hard battle of it. Let the Lord decide what is best and wisest. . . . Some-

times I am troubled by the reproach of men; but never forsaken or overcome. I desire an unwearied interest in your prayers, and the prayers of all the flock. My letters will be regular, but, I fear, short, for very much is laid on me."

The commission referred to above was a commission from the borough of Annan, by which Irving was empowered to represent it *as an elder* in the approaching General Assembly. It was the only way in which he could sit in that ecclesiastical parliament; and, though somewhat contradictory to his own lately expressed opinion, that the position of ministers and elders corresponded to the orders of bishop and priest, was in entire conformity with the ordinary Presbyterian idea, that ministers were but preaching elders, and were in reality members of the same ecclesiastical class. A warm discussion arose in the General Assembly, when his commission was presented. It was one of those questions which, without being really matters of party difference, are invariably seized upon as party questions. One side of the house contended for his admission, the other against it. His defence was undertaken by Dr. Andrew Thomson, one of the leaders of the Evangelical party, who very shortly after entered the lists against him in matters of doctrine; but manfully stood up now for the friend of Chalmers and Gordon, a man who, if not actually belonging to his own side, was leagued in the warmest amity with many of its members. Irving himself, before the matter was put to the vote, appeared, by permission of the Assembly, at the bar, to speak for himself. His speech is too long to quote: nor does he make any very vehement stand for his rights; very

probably feeling that it was at best a side way of approaching that venerable Assembly, which he held in so much honour. The appearance he makes is, indeed, more for the purpose of supporting the claims of his constituents, and their right to elect the superior instead of inferior degree of ruling elder if it so pleased them, than on his own account. But he takes the opportunity, the first and the last which he ever had, of recommending to the Assembly "to take a parental care of the hundreds of thousands of their children who are now dwelling beyond their bounds." In this appeal he waxes warm. He, too, is "beyond their bounds;" but is he not subject to their oversight and authority? "If I disobey," says the great orator, who could see into the mysteries of prophecy, but not into the slowly opening mists of the immediate years, "can you not call me to your bar? and, if I come not, have you not your court of contumacy wherewith to reach me? If I offend in any great matter — which I would fain hope is little likely — can you not pronounce against me the sentence of the lesser or the greater excommunication?" These words detach themselves from the context, to us who know what came after. He spoke then all unaware what significance time was preparing for the unthought-of expressions; evidently fearing nothing of such a fate. "I was enabled to deliver myself with great calmness and respect, in a way which seemed very much to impress the house," he tells his wife—"stating how I sought not to intrude, but had advertised my constituents to consult authorities upon the subject." And when the matter was at length decided against

him, personal disappointment scarcely appears at all in the record he gives:—

"Edinburgh, 26th May.

"It gave me no pain at all to be cast out of the Assembly, except in as far as it wronged the burgh of Annan, and all the burghs in their rights, which we proved beyond a question are to send a minister or elder. . . . . The attention and favour which I received was very marked, especially from the Commissioner and the Moderator; and unbounded was the wonder of men to find that I had not a rough tiger's skin, with tusks and horns and other savage instruments. . . . . Upon the whole, I am very well satisfied with this event in my life. . . . . My lectures are decidedly producing an impression upon the people. The work of the Lord is prospering in my hand. The glory be unto His great name. . . . It is the custom for the Moderator to choose two ministers and an elder to walk down from the Assembly-house to the Levee-room in Hunter Square, and inform the Commissioner* when the Assembly is waiting for him. He honoured me on Saturday with this duty, and the Commissioner asked me to dine with him, when I enjoyed myself vastly with the Solicitor-General and Sir Walter Scott, who were sitting over against me. The Moderator has sent me an invitation to attend the Assembly, and sit in the body of the house. . . . . It is hard work standing forth, with an extempore sermon of two hours, every morning at seven o'clock."

"29th May.

"I remain here till Friday night, when I go to Dumfries in the mail, and from there I come to Glasgow on Wednesday to preach, then to Paisley, and finally to Row. Above all things, I rejoice that I shall completely open the Apocalypse. I am wonderfully strengthened. The people come out willingly, and are very patient. They are generally as-

* It may be well to explain, for the information of readers unacquainted with Scotland, that the Commissioner is the representative of Her Majesty in the Scottish Assembly; and that by way of making up for a total want of anything to do in that Convocation itself, this high functionary holds a sort of shadow of a Viceregal court outside.

sembled from seven to half-past nine. It tries my strength, but I have strength for it. . . . . There is a great work to be done here, and I think God has chosen me for the unworthy instrument of doing it. The number of ministers who attend is very remarkable. I could say much, but am weary, and am going to the Assembly. I desire my love to Mr. Scott and Miss Macdonald, my brotherly love to Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, my blessing upon the head of my children, and my whole heart to you, my faithful wife."

"4th June.

"To-morrow I finish my lectures, which I can with assurance say have produced a strong and lasting impression. The one thing which I have laboured at is to resist liberalism by opening the Word of God."

So concluded this second course of Edinburgh lectures. Hope Park Chapel was crowded; and quiet country people, trudging out to the suburban villages in the evening, or into the busy town in the early summer sunshine, remember vaguely still, without remembering what it meant, the throng about the door of the place; but it was remote, and out of the way, and very different from the West Kirk, in the heart of Edinburgh life, which he had occupied the previous year. The same amount of excitement does not seem to have surrounded him on this second occasion, though he himself appears to have been even more satisfied than formerly with the effect his addresses produced.

And now another course of ceaseless preaching followed, principally in his native district, where thousands of people went after him wherever he appeared, and through which he passed boldly preaching his assailed doctrine before the multitudes who wondered after him, and the "brethren" who were shortly to sit in judgment upon him.

"We arrived at Dumfries," he writes, "by six in the morning, when, having breakfasted with the Fergussons, I took some rest, and prepared myself for meeting a company of clergymen at Miss Goldie's, and preaching in the evening for Dr. Scott, to whom I had written for the old church, which he readily granted. This I took as a great gift from Providence, for it is like the metropolitan church of our county. I opened the Apocalypse as far as in one lecture could be done. Next day I preached in the Academy grounds, upon the banks of Nith, to above 10,000 people, in the morning from the eighth Psalm and the second of Hebrews. In the afternoon I preached at Holywood, to about six or seven thousand, upon the song of the Church in heaven, Rev. v. The surveyor at Annan had the curiosity to measure the ground and estimate the people. He made it as many as thirteen thousand; and there were more at Dumfries. My voice easily reached over them all.* At Holywood I was nearly four hours, and at Dumfries three hours in the pulpit; and yet I am no worse. Next day I went to Dunscore, which stretches away up from the right bank of the hill towards Galloway. I visited Lag the persecutor's grave, by the way, and found it desolate; though surrounded with walls and doors, it was waste, weedy, and foul. There is not a martyr's grave that is not clean and beautiful. At Dunscore, Thomas Carlyle came down to meet me. It is his parish church, and I rode up with him to Craigenputtock, where I was received with much kindness by him and his wife. . . . My dearest wife, what I owe you of love and gratitude! The Lord reward you, and enable me to cherish you as my ownself. From Craigenputtock I rode down with Carlyle on Wednesday morning, and met the coach at the Auldgarth brig, and came on to Glasgow that night. Alexander Hamilton I saw at Langholm. He and his sister are both well. And at Mauchline I stopped to ask for Mr. Woodrow's parents, who are also well. I slept at Mr. Falconer's last

* It is recorded that when preaching at Monimail, in Fife, in the open air, his sermon was heard distinctly by a lady seated at her own window a quarter of a mile off; and his voice was audible, though not distinctly, at double that distance.

night, and am now, after many calls, seated in James Stevenson's, beside the chapel where I am to preach. Collins spoke this morning to me as a heretic, and I rose and left him with offence. I have much, much to bear. Let patience have her perfect work. There were assembled at Dunscore, though it be a lonely place, full two or three thousand people. These are my comforts that I have the privilege of addressing so many of my beloved brethren. To-night I preach in the chapel of ease, proceed to Paisley, and preach to them to-morrow; thence to Rosneath, where I preach on Saturday, at four, and at Row on Sabbath. I travel back to Edinburgh on Monday, and preach at Kirkcaldy on Tuesday night; after which, on Wednesday, I take shipping for home,—sweet home!—the dwelling-place of those whom I am most bound to and beholden to in this world. My worthy father and mother came to Dumfries and Holywood all well. . . . The blessing of the Lord be with all the flock. God help me this night.—*Friday*—I was much supported in preaching at Glasgow, and did the cause some service, as I hope. The Calton weavers came soliciting me to preach on Monday night for the destitute among them. This I agreed to, and shall travel in the mail at eleven o'clock, and reach Kirkcaldy on Tuesday forenoon."

It is difficult to realise the fact that these intense and incessant labours were all entirely voluntary, the anxiously premeditated offering of his summer holiday to his Master and the Church. A local paper of the time confirms and heightens Irving's brief account of the crowds which followed him in Dumfries. The journalist, with the license of his craft, describes (*Dumfries Courier*, June, 1829) those audiences as "innumerable multitudes," and adds that not less than 12,000 or 13,000 people attended both the Sunday services. In Glasgow, however, for what reason I cannot tell, or whether it is simply for want of evidence, he does not seem to have gained the ear or the heart of the community. Glasgow, absorbed in the prose of

life, had perhaps less patience than other places for the most impracticable of theologians; or, still more likely, never could forget that he had once been assistant at St. John's, and that nobody had discovered the manner of man he was. A lady who knew him well, and was, at the moment, with him, describes with graphic vivacity an incident in this Glasgow visit. He had preached to a disturbed and restless audience, crowded but not sympathetic; and when about to leave the church found a crowd waiting him outside, full of vulgar incipient insult. Some of the bystanders addressed him in vernacular taunts—"Ye're an awfu' man, Mr. Irving: they say you preach a Roman Catholic baptism, and a Mohammadan heeven;" and the whole position looked alarming to his troubled female companion. Irving, however, faced the crowd calmly, took off his hat, bowed to them, and uttered a "fare ye well" as he went forward. The multitude opened, swinging back "like a door on its hinges," says the keen observer, who, half running to keep up with his gigantic stride, accompanied him through this threatening pathway. It was the only place in which popular friendliness failed him. One great cause of this, however, is said to have been the warm support which he gave to Mr. Campbell of Row, whose "new doctrine" had been for some time alarming the orthodox society of the West,—so that in Irving's person the theological crowd of Glasgow saw a type of all the heresies which put the Church and countryside in commotion. But after all this lapse of years, after the strange, lofty political principles which he had come to hold so firmly and speak out so boldly, the Calton weavers, democrats and radicals to a man, still remem-

bered and trusted the old friend who shared their miseries without ever learning to distrust them, ten years before, in the dismal days of Bonnymuir. His *jus divinum* did not frighten those critics, it appears: by a diviner right, long ago, he had possessed himself of their hearts.

After this he seems to have again paid a flying visit to Bathgate, the residence of his brother-in-law; for to this year belongs a beautiful anecdote told of him in that place. A young man belonging to the Church there was very ill, "dying of consumption." Mr. Martin had promised to take his distinguished relative to see this youth, and Irving's time was so limited, that the visit had to be paid about six in the morning, before he started on his further journey. When the two clergymen entered the sick chamber, Irving went up to the bedside, and looking in the face of the patient said softly, but earnestly, "George M——, God loves you; be assured of this—*God loves you.*" When the hurried visit was over, the young man's sister, coming in, found her patient in a tearful ecstasy not to be described. "What do you think? Mr. Irving says God loves me," cried the dying lad, overwhelmed with the confused pathetic joy of that great discovery. The sudden message had brought sunshine and light into the chamber of death.

An incident of a similar kind occurred about the same time in the Manse of Kirkcaldy. When the family were going to prayers at night, a messenger arrived, begging that Irving would go to visit and pray with a dying man. He rose immediately to obey the call, and left the room; but coming back again, called one of the family to go with him. On their return,

inquiries were naturally made about the sufferer, who had either been, or appeared to have been, unconscious during the devotions offered by his bedside. "I hope there was a blessing in it to the living, at least," said the mother of the house. "And to the dying also," answered Irving; "for it is written, 'If two of you shall agree on earth, as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.'" It was for this sublime reason, holding the promise as if it had been audibly spoken to himself, that the Christian priest turned back to call the other, whose brotherhood of faith he was assured of, to hold their faithful Master to His word.

When these laborious travels were concluded, Irving returned to London, so unexhausted, it would appear, that he was able immediately after to prepare another bulky volume for the press. This was a work on *Church and State*, founded upon the vision of Daniel, and tracing the line of antique history, the course of the Kings and of the Church, through Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander, up to fated Rome, in all its grand developments. He himself explains the book to have been an expression of his own indignant sentiments in respect to the late invasions of the British Constitution, which, according to his view, destroyed the standing of this country as a Christian nation: these being specially the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the repeal of Catholic disabilities. It would be vain to attempt to vindicate Irving from the charges of illiberality and intolerance which his decided and vehement opposition to these measures may naturally call upon him. To us, in the present day, it is so difficult to

realise how such restraints ever could have existed, that to understand the character of any serious opposition raised to their repeal is almost impossible. But I am not careful to defend Irving from such imputations. So far as his character may have been set forth in this history, so far will his sentiments be justified as the natural product of a high-toned and lofty mind, always occupied with the soul of things. Such a man is not always right: may be, in practical necessities, mightily wrong; but is always in a lofty unity with his own conclusions and convictions. His Divine Right, at least, is, if nothing else, a splendid ideal, always pointing forward to the sublime realisation of that Personal Reign, the Divinity of which no man could question—and giving a soul to the loyalty he required by converting it into the patience of the saints, all conscious of a Government yet to come, in which Right and Law should be the perfection of Justice and Truth: and, ready for that hope, to endure all things rather than rebel against the external Majesty, which was a type of the universal King. I repeat, I do not defend Irving for holding such impracticable, impossible views. The training of the present generation has been all accomplished in a world from which those ancient restrictions have passed away; but such as find it possible to consider the matter from his stand-point, elevated as it was upon the heights of loftiest ideal right, and can enter into his theory of Government, whether they accept it or not, will need no exculpation of the intrepid champion, who, holding this for truth, was not afraid to speak it out.

The book was dedicated, with an affecting union of

family affection and the loyalty of a fervent churchman, as follows:—

"To the Reverend SAMUEL MARTIN, D.D.,
My venerable Grandfather-in-law:
The Reverend JOHN MARTIN,
My honoured Father-in-law:
The Reverend SAMUEL MARTIN,
My faithful Brother-in-law:
And to all my Fathers and Brethren,
The ordained Ministers of the Church of Scotland.

"Reverend and well-beloved, the peace of God be with you and with your flocks; the blessing of the great Head of the Church preserve you from all heresy and schism; and the Holy Ghost give you plentiful fruit of your ministries.

"I, who am your brother in the care of the baptized children of the Church of Scotland, having written this book upon the responsibility of the Church and State to God, and to one another, can think of none to whom it may be so well dedicated as to you, the heads of the Scottish Church, the established ministers of the Scottish kingdom. Accept, I pray you, the offering of my thoughts and labours, however unworthy the great subject, as a tribute of my gratitude to the Church of Scotland, and a token of my fealty to the good cause in which our fathers laboured, many of them sealing their testimony with their blood.

"I had purposed, if God had permitted, to bring before the last General Assembly of the Church some measure which would have embraced my doctrine, and represented the sense I have of the late acts of the kingdom respecting Dissenters and Papists; and to have done what in me lay to clear the Church of the guilt of acquiescence, or of silence, when such great wickedness was transacted by the estates of the kingdom, whose counsellors we are in all things which concern the honour and glory of Christ. But the Providence of God, which is wisest and best, saw it good to prevent this purpose of my heart, and, likewise, to forbid that any other member should bring forward such a measure. Whether this was permitted in judgment or in mercy time will show; but my present conviction is, that it was in judgment. Of this my

purpose, having been prevented by an all-wise Providence, I feel it to be the more my duty now to dedicate the substance of my thoughts on these subjects to you, my reverend fathers and brethren; and through you to present them to the Mother Church, of which you are the representatives.

* * * * * * *

"I cannot conclude this dedication without one word of a more personal and domestic kind, addressed to my excellent kinsmen, the representatives of three generations, grandfather, father, and son, all labouring together in the vineyard of the Lord. It recalls to our minds some shadow of the Patriarchal times to behold a man, within one year of ninety, fulfilling the laborious duties of a Scottish minister, by the side of his son and his son's son, and with as much vigour as they; adhering to the constant practice of the fathers in giving a double discourse in the morning, and another in the afternoon, of the Lord's day. It is like the blessing of Caleb, whose natural force was not abated by forty years' journeying in the wilderness, and by the wars of taking possession of the promised land. So mayest thou, venerable sire, by strength of faith and strength of arm, gain for thyself thine inheritance; and may the mantle of thy piety, and faithfulness, and joy descend unto thy children and thy children's children, and their children also.

"Now, fare ye all well, my fellow-labourers. The God of grace and consolation bless your persons, your wives, your little ones, your flocks; and make you ever to abide the faithful watchmen of the spiritual bulwarks of Old Scotland, which have been strengthened of God to stand so many storms, and to come out of them all strong and mighty, rooted in the truth, and adorned with the beauty and the faithfulness of an intelligent, upright, and religious people. Farewell, my beloved brethren; remember in your love, faith, and hope, and in your prayers make mention of those from amongst your children who are sojourning beyond your borders, and endeavouring to preserve in all regions of the world the honours of your great and good name.

"EDWARD IRVING.

"National Scotch Church, London,
"July 6, 1829."

While Irving was in Scotland, Mr. James Haldane, of pious memory, published a pamphlet entitled, *A Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ*, which Irving referred to slightly in one of the above letters, as having "no strength in it." This, and the other still slighter, but more painful mention, that "Collins spoke to me as a heretic," were the only marks of the gathering storm in Scotland; unless the stifled demonstration of the Glasgow mob might be regarded as such. The position which Irving assumed in the above dedication and in his speech in the Assembly was clearly that of a man certain of his own position, and resolute that the name of heretic was one that could with no justice be applied to him. This certainty he never relinquished. Slowly and unwillingly the fact dawned upon him at last, that he was *called* a heretic, and the stroke went to his heart: but that he never acknowledged himself to be so—always, on the contrary, was confident in the perfect orthodoxy of his belief—is apparent through all his works.

He returned to London, to his "beloved flock," with all the comfort of a man who knows himself undoubted and unrivalled in his own special field. There no mutterings of discontent assailed him. His congregation stood round him, shoulder to shoulder, in a unanimity of affection rarely bestowed upon one man. The prophetic brotherhood, to whose company he had gradually drawn closer in late years, especially under the stimulus of the Albury Conferences, seem, like the congregation, to have been charmed by the magical

influence of a heart so tender and so true; and to have given themselves up to his half-conscious sway with a loyalty and simplicity perhaps as remarkable as any circumstance of his life. Out of that beloved native country, which had been but a step-mother to Irving, but which he could never keep his heart or his fated footsteps from, it was natural that he should go back with a sense of relief to the people who knew him, and whom he had led entranced and enthusiastic, unconscious whither, into all those vivid openings of truth which startled unaccustomed eyes with a hundred side-gleams of possible heresy. He returned to his pastoral labours always more zealous and earnest in his work, if that were possible. I insert here a curious document, undated, and evidently intended solely for distribution among the class to whom it is addressed, which I imagine must belong to this period of his life, and which will show how minute as well as how wide was his observation, and how prompt his action in all the varied enterprises of his calling. It is addressed *To the Scottish Journeymen Bakers, resident in London and its neighbourhood.* Social Science did not exist in those days, but Christian charity seems to have forestalled statistics, so far, at least, as the vast field of Irving's labour was concerned.

"My dear Countrymen,—I have been at pains to make myself acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of your calling, and do enter very feelingly into the hardships and danger of your condition, from being deprived in a great degree of the ordinances of our holy religion, which are God's appointed means of grace and salvation. While I know that many of you do your best endeavour to profit by the means of grace, I know, also, that many more have a desire to do so,

if only it was in their power; and I am sure the most of you will regret with me that not a few of you are fallen into carelessness, and some into entire neglect of their invaluable privileges as baptized members of Christ's Church. Moved by the consideration of your peculiar case, and desiring, as a minister of the Church of Scotland, to spend myself for the sake of her children in these parts, I have come to the resolution of setting apart two hours of the second Saturday evening in the month, from seven till nine o'clock, for the express purpose of meeting with as many of you as will be entreated to come together, and holding some profitable discourse with you concerning the things which belong to our everlasting peace. These meetings we will hold in the Session house of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, of which I am the minister; and, God willing, we will begin them on the evening of the 14th March, at seven o'clock.

'Take this in good part, my dear countrymen, and believe that it proceeds from a real interest in your welfare, especially in the welfare of your souls. I do not forget that, like myself, you are separated from father and mother and tender relations; that you are living in a city full of snares and temptations; that you are members of Christ's Church, for whom He died; and that I am appointed one of those who should watch for your souls. Do, therefore, I entreat you, receive this invitation with a welcome, and come with a willing mind to meet one who, though unknown to you in the flesh, can with the heart subscribe himself

"Your faithful and true friend,

"EDWARD IRVING.

"P.S. Though this be written specially with a view to the young Scotchmen of the baker trade, and accommodated to meet their circumstances, other bakers of other nations will be welcome, even as they; for are we not all the disciples of one Lord and Master?—and other young Scotchmen of other trades, who may find this suitable to their circumstances, will be likewise welcome."

Whether anything came of this brotherly invitation, I am unable to say, but it is an indication of the extent

of those toils which only the inevitable hour and day, time and space, and nothing else, seem to have limited.

In the month of August another cloud passed over the household: one of those events which tell for so little in the history of a family, but which make all the difference, at the moment, between a light heart and a sad one, and deepen all other shadows.—A child, just born to die, came and went on one of those August days. Save the mention of its name, nothing is said, even in the family letters of this hour-long life—as, indeed, nothing could be said; but it had its share in obscuring that personal happiness, which, though it can never be the end of life, is the most exquisite of all stimulants and earthly supports in its great conflict and battle. A month later another death occurred in the kindred: that of the old man, to whom, in conjunction with his descendants, Irving's last book had been dedicated, the "venerable Patriarch" of his former letters. His love for the Patriarchal constitution of the family, as well as for the grandsire dead, breathes through the following letter, addressed to Dr. Martin of Kirkcaldy:—

"13 Judd Place East, 1st Sept. 1829.

"MY DEAR FATHER-IN-LAW,—I do from the heart sympathise with you, and all your father's children and grandchildren, in the visitation of God taking from you your venerable head; that most dear and precious old man, for whom all that valued venerable worth and long-tried service had the greatest esteem and admiration. To me he was most dear in every respect, as the faithful and diligent minister of the New Testament, as the reverend patriarch, as the scholar and the gentleman; and I honoured him much as the head of my wife's house. . . . Your father was the last of the old and good school of Scottish Churchmen. That race is now gone, and we have now a new character to form for ourselves

according to the new exigencies of the times. God grant us grace to meet His enemies and establish His testimony as faithfully as our fathers did. . . . . We set out to-morrow for Brighton. Miss Macdonald goes with us. Isabella is getting well; and I hope Brighton, where Elizabeth is, will do them both good. Margaret's eye is better by God's goodness. . . . . Samuel is well; and they are all God hath spared with us — Edward, and Mary, and Gavin are beyond worldly ailments.

"I had much to say to you concerning the Church, but I must wait another opportunity. Watch for the Lord as if He were daily to appear,—I cannot say that it may not be this night. . . . . I ask your blessing upon me, my wife, and my children, night and morning. Do not forget us, and plead for us very earnestly, for ours is no ordinary post. . . . . I pray God to bless and comfort all the family. . . . . Farewell!

"Your affectionate and dutiful son,

"EDWARD IRVING."

Early in this year (a quaint episode which I had almost forgotten), Irving's hands had been suddenly burdened by the whimsical liberality of the missionary Wolff, who, without preface or justification, and after an acquaintance not very long, if sufficiently warm during the time it had lasted, sent home to his friend two Greek youths, to be educated and trained to the future service of their countrymen. They were, of course, totally penniless, and this extraordinary consignment involved the maintenance, probably for years, of the two strangers. Irving announced their coming to his friend Mr. Story, of Rosneath, in whose parish he wished to place his unexpected visitors, with a certain chivalrous magniloquence of speech, as if to forestall all comments on the singular nature of the charge thus put upon him. "Joseph Wolff, my much esteemed friend," he writes, "and

Lady Georgiana Wolff, also my much esteemed friend, have given me another proof of their esteem, by sending me two Greeks . . . These two Greeks has Joseph Wolff sent—wholly entrusted to me—so that I am to them as father, and guardian, and provider, and everything, which also I am right happy to be . . . . By the blessing of God, poor though I am, yet rich in faith, by His grace I will take upon myself the responsibility of their charges till they return to their native Cyprus again." The young men went to Rosneath to the parish school there, where they remained for years. In an after letter, Irving unbended from the high ground he had taken at first, and confessed, though only by the way, that this charge had been "rashly devolved upon him;" notwithstanding, he accepted it, and arranged carefully, as well for the economical limitation of their expenses as for the pastoral care and authority which he exhorted his friend to wield over them. I do not suppose, as indeed it would be unnatural to imagine, that the cost of Mr. Wolff's liberality came entirely, or even chiefly, out of Irving's slender means. Such a thing could only have been possible had the matter been secret: but he assumed the responsibility, and undertook all those expenses without any apparent hesitation; never dreaming, it would appear, of declining the charge so rashly devolved upon him, or of turning it off on other hands.

The family remained for some time at Brighton, in the autumn of the year: but this arrangement conferred no special leisure upon their head. During the whole time of their absence from town he continued to discharge his ordinary pulpit duties: going up

every Saturday, to be ready for his work. Indeed, Irving seems to have at last worked himself into the condition, so common to laborious men, especially those whose field of toil is in London, of finding relaxation only in a change of work. Absolute rest appears to have been unknown to him.

During this year he began to issue, in weekly numbers, his *Lectures on the Revelations*, afterwards to be collected in the more dignified form of four octavo volumes. These little rudely-printed *brochures* were each prefaced by a sonnet, the sentiment of which is more perfect than the poetry—that being, indeed, as in every case where Irving used this vehicle of expression, much less poetical and melodious than his prose. Notwithstanding, I do not doubt they gave a more grateful utterance to his own heart, at its highest strain of emotion; a use of verse which is not to be despised. The *Morning Watch* also contained various papers from his hand,—one series, treating of the *Old Testament Prophecies quoted in the New*, in which he takes occasion again and yet again to enter into that doctrine of our Lord's entire union with us in the flesh, which, the more he considered and meditated on it, opened up to him ever new and tenderer lights; and articles, treating exclusively of the same subject, some from his own pen, some inspired by him,—authorities, arguments, eloquent expositions of this distinctive crown of his belief. In defence of this he stood forth before all the world, fervently convinced of its supreme importance: taking infinite comfort in his own splendid but troubled career—in his contentions with the world, in those still, domestic sorrows, unperceived by the

world, which penetrated the depths of his heart with ever-returning accesses of exquisite sadness—from the thought that this very throbbing flesh, this very troubled soul, was the same nature to which the Lord, by conquering all things in these selfsame garments, had secured the victory. It was no dogma to Irving; the reality of the consolation and strength which he himself found in it is apparent in every word he writes on the subject; he fights for it as a man fights for something dearer than life.

Another Albury conference concluded the year. This was the third; and the yearly meeting seems now to have become a regular institution, returning with the return of winter. The bonds formed in this society were naturally drawn closer, and the interest of their researches intensified by this repetition, at least to a man who entered so entirely into them as Irving did. Nothing of the position he himself held in those conferences is to be learned from his own report; but the significant pre-eminence in which he appears in the pages of the *Morning Watch*, their organ and representative, infers that it must have been a high place. No doubt the little interval of retirement, the repose of the religious house, enclosed by all the pensive sights and sounds of the waning year, the congenial society and congenial themes, the withdrawal from actual life and trouble in which these serious days passed, amid the falling leaves at Albury, must have been deeply grateful to his soul. Whether it was a safe or beneficial enjoyment is a different matter. There he attracted to himself by that "magnetic influence," which Dr. Chalmers noted, but did not under-

stand, a circle of men who were half to lead and half to follow him hereafter; attracted them into a certain loyal, all-believing admiration, which he himself repaid by implicit trust and confidence, as was his nature, —admiration too great and trust too profound. Nothing of this, however, appears in the following record of the third conference at Albury.

"Albury Park, 30th Nov. 1829.

"My dear Wife,—I have enjoyed great tranquillity of mind here, and much of God's good presence with me, for which I desire to be very thankful. Our meetings prosper very well. My time is so much occupied with preparations and examinations of what I hear, that, except when I am in bed, my Bible is continually before me, in the margin of which I engross whatever illustrates my text. This morning I have been alone, being minded to partake the Lord's Supper with the rest of the brethren. I find Mr. Dow agrees with me in feeling his mind clear to this act of communicating with the Church of England.

"We are not without some diversities of opinion upon most subjects, especially as to the Millennial blessedness, which was handled yesterday. Lord Mandeville and Mr. Dodsworth take a view of it different from me, rating the condition of men in flesh higher than I do, and excluding death. I desire to think humbly, and reverently to inquire upon a subject so high. Mr. Dow has great self-possession and freedom amongst so many strangers. Mr. Borthwick is very penetrating and lively, but Scotch all over in his manner of dealing with that infidel way of intellectualising divine truth, which came from Scotland. I, myself, have too much of it. Mr. Tudor is very learned, modest, and devout. Lord Mandeville is truly sublime and soul-subduing in the views he presents. I observed a curious thing, that while he was reading a paper on Christ's office of judgment in the Millennium everybody's pen stood still, as if they felt it a desecration to do anything but listen. Mr. Drummond says that if I and Dodsworth had been joined together we would have

made a Pope Gregory the Great—he to furnish the popish quality, not me. I do not know what I should furnish;—but the church bell is now ringing.

"We have just returned from a most delightful service . . . Mr. Dodsworth preached from Psalm viii. 4, 5, 6. . . Our subject to-morrow is the parables and words of our Lord as casting light upon His kingdom, opened by Dodsworth. Next day the Remnant of the Gentiles and their translation, opened by your husband; the next, the Apocalypse, opened by Mr. Whyte; and the last, the Signs of the Times, opened by our host. This will enable you to sympathise with us. . . Farewell! The Lord preserve you all unto His kingdom.

"Your faithful husband,

"EDWARD IRVING."

With this Sabbatical scene, in which Irving was a simple worshipper, concludes, so far as I have any record, this year of strenuous labour and conflict. Another illness of his wife's still further saddened its termination. The sunshine of household prosperity did not light up for him that path which went forward into the darkness. But he went on boldly, notwithstanding, 'bating nothing of heart or hope.

CHAPTER III.

1830.

FROM year to year, as Irving proceeded further on his course, the tide of thought and emotion had been hitherto rising with a noble and natural progress. He had now reached almost to the culmination of that wonderful and splendid development. Everything he had uttered or set forth with the authority of his name had been worthy the loftiest mood of human intellect, and had given dignity and force to the high position he assumed as a teacher and ambassador of God. All his discoveries and openings up of truth had operated only, so far as his own mind was concerned, to the heightening of every divine conception, and to the increase and intensification of the divine love in his heart. But another chapter of life had commenced for the great preacher. That a man whose thoughts were sublimated so far out of the usual track, and whose mental vision was so vivid as to elevate everything he clearly perceived entirely out of the region of compromise into that of absolute verity, should have gone on so long without coming in contact at some point with the restrictions of authority, is more wonderful than that the commonly orthodox understanding, long jealous of a fervour and force which it could not comprehend,

should at length set up a barrier of sullen resistance against his advances. The conflict had fairly set in when the year 1830 commenced. No longer the politico-religious journalists of London, no longer stray adventurers into the world of controversy, but the authorised religious periodicals of his own country, and the divines of his mother-Church, were now rising against him; and while the storm gathered, another cloud arose upon the firmament — another cloud to most of the spectators who watched the progress of this wonderful tragedy; but to Irving himself another light, still more beautiful and glorious than those which had already flushed his horizon with the warmest illuminations of gratitude and love. Since that summer-day of 1828 when he preached at Row, and agreed with Mr. Alexander Scott to come to his assistance in London, and work with him entirely unfettered by any pledge as to doctrine, that powerful and singular spirit had been his close companion and fellow-workman;— and had not occupied that place without influencing the open and candid heart of his leader. I do not know what thread of unity ran through Mr. Scott's beliefs at this time, and gave his faith coherence. All that is outwardly apparent of him through the long vista of years is a determined resistance to every kind of external limitation, and fastidious rejection of all ecclesiastical boundary for his thoughts, combined with a power of impressing other minds around him, not only with his own marvellous powers of understanding, but with his profound spirituality and perception of divine things. To a man of so questioning and unsatisfied a mind, slow to believe what

anybody told him, and apparently rather stimulated to contradiction than to reverence by the utterances of authority, the hope of direct communications from heaven afforded, no doubt, a gleam of possible deliverance out of the ever increasing problems and perplexities of life and thought. It was an idea which already, in a kind of grand prophetic reverie, had crossed the mind of Irving. So far back as 1828, he himself says he had become convinced that the spiritual gifts so largely bestowed upon the apostolic age of Christianity were not exceptional, or for one period alone, but belonged to the Church of all ages, and had only been kept in abeyance by the absence of faith. Yet with the lofty reasonableness and moderation of genius, even when treading in a sphere beyond reason, Irving concluded that these unclaimed and unexercised supernatural endowments, which had died out of use so long, would be restored only at the time of the Second Advent, in the miraculous reign, of which they would form a fitting adjunct. Such had been his idea for some time, when the restless soul beside him began to work upon this germ of faith. "He was at that time my fellow-labourer in the National Scotch Church," writes Irving some time afterwards, in his narrative of the *Facts connected with recent Manifestations of Spiritual Gifts*, published in *Fraser's Magazine* for January, 1832—

"And as we went out and in together he used often to signify to me his conviction that the spiritual gifts ought still to be exercised in the Church; that we are at liberty, and indeed bound, to pray for them as being baptized into the assurance of the 'gift of the Holy Ghost,' as well as of 'repentance and remission of sins.' . . . . . Though I could make no

answer to this, and it is altogether unanswerable, I continued still very little moved to seek myself or to stir up my people to seek these spiritual treasures. Yet I went forward to contend and to instruct whenever the subject came before me in my public ministrations of reading and preaching the Word, that the Holy Ghost ought to be manifested among us all, the same as ever He was in any one of the primitive Churches."

Mr. Scott's influence did not end here. About the same period at which he was engaged in quickening this germ of expectation in the breast of Irving, circumstances brought him in the way of sowing a still more effectual seed:—

"Being called down to Scotland upon some occasion," continues Irving, "and residing for a while at his father's house, which is in the heart of that district of Scotland upon which the light of Mr. Campbell's ministry had arisen, he was led to open his mind to some of the godly people in these parts, and, among others, to a young woman who was at that time lying ill of a consumption, from which afterwards, when brought to the very door of death, she was raised up instantaneously by the mighty hand of God. Being a woman of a very fixed and constant spirit, he was not able, with all his power of statement and argument, which is unequalled by that of any man I have ever met with, to convince her of the distinction between regeneration and baptism with the Holy Ghost; and when he could not prevail he left her with a solemn charge to read over the Acts of the Apostles with that distinction in her mind, and to beware how she rashly rejected what he believed to be the truth of God. By this young woman it was that God, not many months after, did restore the gift of speaking with tongues and prophesying to the Church."

This singular transaction connects the history together in its several parts with wonderful consistence and coherence. The preaching of Mr. Campbell of Row, which had stirred the whole countryside with its warm

and singleminded proclamation of an uncomplicated gospel; the proceedings against him*, then going on before the ecclesiastical courts, which quickened the tradesmen and labourers of Clydesdale into a convocation of learned doctors deep in metaphysics and theology; the repeated apparition of Irving,—then, perhaps, the most striking individual figure in his generation, and who spread excitement and interest around him wherever he went—had combined to raise to a very high degree of fervour and vividness the religious feeling of that district. Several humble persons in the locality had become illustrious over its whole extent by the singular piety of their lives, piety of an ecstatic, absorbing kind, such as in the Catholic Church would have brought about canonization; and which, indeed, does everywhere confer a spiritual local rank equal to canonization. Such was Isabella Campbell of Fernicarry, a youthful saint who had died not long before in an odour of sanctity which no conventual virgin ever surpassed, and whose life had been published with

* The report of these presbyterial proceedings, being the trial of this saintly and admirable man for heresy, by his Presbytery, in the very centre of the district which had been instructed and influenced by him, with its full testimony of witnesses for and against the orthodoxy of the reverend "defender,"—witnesses of all descriptions, ploughmen, farmers, small shopkeepers, Dunbartonshire lairds—is perhaps one of the most singular records ever printed; each man of all these miscellaneous individuals being evidently, not only in his own estimation, but in that of the Presbytery, a competent informant on a nice point of doctrine; and their testimony of the different senses in which they had understood their minister's sermons, and their opinions thereupon, being gravely received as influencing the important question of a clergyman's character and position in the Church. Nowhere but in Scotland could such a body of evidence be brought together.

immense local circulation by Mr. Story, of Rosneath. It is unnecessary to describe more fully the singular condition of mind into which the entire district seems to have been rapt at this special period, since it has already been done with fuller knowledge and more perfect detail in the Memoir of the admirable minister of Rosneath*, written by his son. But religion had at this crisis taken a hold upon the entire mind of the population, which it very seldom possesses. It was not only the inspiration of their hearts, but the subject of their thoughts, discussions, and conversations. They seem not only to have been stimulated in personal piety, but *occupied* to an almost unprecedented degree with those spiritual concerns which are so generally kept altogether apart from the common tide of life. On such a state of mind Mr. Scott's pregnant suggestion fell with the force that might have been expected from it. A master of "statement and argument," as Irving declares him to have been, he bent all his powers to laying this train of splendid mischief. I trust no one will consider that I speak with levity, or in the slightest degree prejudge what was to follow, by using this word. But the position is so remarkable, and the results were yet so much more so, that it seems to me a justifiable expression; all the more as the singular man who dropped this seed, obeying his fastidious instincts, as might have been predicted of him, afterwards rejected the phenomena which his own exertions had shaped into being.

With this smouldering fire beginning to glow

* Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Robert Story; by Robert Herbert Story, Minister of Rosneath.—Macmillan and Co.

in unsuspected quiet, and with a longing expectation beginning to rise in the mind of Irving, both fanned by one powerful hand, the year began. Nothing as yet had come of that expectation. But no one can watch the progress of events, marking how Irving's heart grew sick over the opposition of his brethren, and how the deep conviction that this antagonism was against a fundamental doctrine of Christianity, and involved the Church in a practical denial of her Head, overpowered him with indignation and melancholy, without perceiving how open his troubled spirit was to anything which appeared like the ineffable joy of direct support and vindication from heaven.

In January his tract, entitled the *Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of Our Lord's Human Nature*, made its appearance—the first distinct and separate publication on the subject which he had given to the world since the Incarnation sermons which first broached the question. It was a controversial reassertion, strongly defensive and belligerent, of the doctrine which he had before stated with calm exposition and lofty argument. I have heard many competent authorities say, that there are rash and unjustifiable expressions in this little book. It may very well be so ; and, considering that his faith in this respect was the very heart and soul of his Christianity, it is not wonderful if he defended it with even an excessive vehemence. But no one can read this or any of his publications on the subject, without observing how he pauses now and then at every point of his argument, lays down his weapons, restrains his excited action, and with a simplicity and moderation that

becomes pathetic as one observes how it is repeated, states over again the plain text of the question at issue. That self-control and affecting earnestness prove much more effectually than any heat of argument, how profoundly important he held it, and how deeply bent he was on conveying the true statement of his cherished belief to every ear that could be induced to hear. To a man so deeply human, there was no comfort in the passive immaculate image of a Saviour, set aside from our temptations by a flesh which could not feel them, and only by some divine fiction of sympathy entering into the more heavily burdened way of His hapless creatures. But his whole nature expanded with love and consolation when he saw that Saviour sensible to those assaults which rend the human soul asunder, yet keeping perfect, in his strength and inspiration of Godhead, the flesh, which he held against all the forces of evil :—

"I believe," cries Irving with the deepest emotion, "that my Lord did come down and toil, and sweat, and travail, in exceeding great sorrow, in this mass of temptation, with which I and every sinful man am oppressed; did bring His Divine presence into death-possessed humanity, into the one substance of manhood created in Adam, and by the Fall brought into a state of resistance and alienation from God, of condemnation and proclivity to evil, of subjection to the devil; and bearing it all upon His shoulders in that very state into which God put it after Adam had sinned, did suffer its sorrows and pains, and swimming anguish, its darkness, wasteness, disconsolateness, and hiddenness from the countenance of God; and by His faith and patience did win for Himself the name of the Man of Sorrows and the author and finisher of our faith."

This was the very essence of his belief. And when

from unexpected quarters, everywhere round him, he discovered that other men, that his fathers and brethren in his own Church, disowned this central truth which gave life and reality to the gospel, it went to his heart like a personal affliction. It was not that they differed with him on a controverted subject; the matter was different to his grieved and wondering perception. To him it appeared that they denied the Lord. The deepest heart of divine grace and pity, the real unspeakable redemption, seemed to Irving overlooked and despised when this wonderful identity of nature was disputed. He stood wondering and sorrowful, always in the midst of his argument turning back again to simple statement, as if, like his Lord, he would have asked, "Do ye *now* believe?"

And not only increasing controversy, but actual events, began to intensify the character of this conflict. The first parallels of actual warfare were opened by two younger men than himself, both, I presume, his disciples, on this question at least; one being the Rev. H. B. Maclean, of London Wall, and the other his chosen friend, Mr. Scott. Mr. Maclean received a presentation to a Church in Scotland, and Mr. Scott was chosen by the little Scotch congregation at Woolwich as their minister. The two events seem to have been almost simultaneous. Writing to his father-in-law about the prospects of a young minister in Scotland, whom he seems to have sought an opportunity to befriend, Irving thus refers to them both:—

"There is likely to be a vacancy at London Wall soon, but for me to interfere in it would be to mar the prospects of any one; for they have foolishly taken it into their heads that

I have had a great hand in making Mr. Maclean a churchman and a Millenarian, instead of a liberal and a nothingarian, which is the thing that goes best down in these latitudes. The Lord's hand hath indeed been manifest in the settlement of Woolwich. Almost unanimously hath Mr. Scott been chosen, who had not a man, no, not one, to speak for him. But he had friends in a higher court; it was like a thunderstroke to us all. I praise God for it above all measure; it is decidedly the most striking instance of an overruling Providence which hath occurred in my day."

So Irving imagined in his hopeful and brotherly heart. It came to little save controversy and discussion; but it brought closer and nearer the turning-point in his own career. Mr. Scott, who was only a probationer, had to go through his "trials" for ordination, which necessitated the preaching of various discourses before the Presbytery, whose ears it may be supposed were specially quickened and critical. Mr. Maclean had to be subjected to the still more severe ordeal of presbyterial examination in Scotland. And thus the field was cleared for action.

Just at this time Irving seems to have received an offering from his Edinburgh friends and followers, conveyed to him by the friendly hands of Mr. Matthew Norman Macdonald; a sum of money, nearly a hundred pounds, which he proposes to make use of in a characteristic fashion.

"My present feeling is," he writes, "that it should go to the purchase of books which are profitable for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. . . . . I look upon it as a gift of the Church of Christ to one of her poor ministers, which he should lay out for the greatest profit of the Church which gave it. Your letter, which expressed the sentiments of my unknown benefactors, did my heart much good in the midst

of this fearful conflict which I have to maintain for the faith once delivered to the saints.

"I have one desire yet unaccomplished, which is to expound the Epistle to the Hebrews in the metropolis of my native land and mother Church. But the time and opportunity must be left to God. Meanwhile, I am perfecting myself in the understanding of that most wonderful book. I perceive that the controversy which is now arising in the Church is not merely for the person of Christ, but for the very name of God, whether He be Love or not. I am a most unworthy man, but while I live I will defend the honour of my God; and, above all places of the earth, in the land of my fathers. I am a most diligent observer of what is proceeding there. If at any time I can be of service with lip or with pen, I am ready unto the death to serve the Church of Scotland, which I believe in her constitution to be the most apostolical of the churches existent on the earth. I entreat you all to reverence her ordinances, and to stand by her in the perils which are at hand."

The mingled love, alarm, and indignation with which he began to regard his country, also gleams forth in a letter to Dr. Martin, in which he gives the following advice to a young Scotch clergyman is who had consulted him:—"Tell him from me it a great advantage to be out of Scotland for a while; Knox and Melville, and almost all the reformers, were so; and there is rising in your quarters a commotion which will give forth, if I err not, fearful issues."

To these northern quarters, where, indeed, it did not require much prophetic foresight to perceive the gathering of a storm, Irving's eyes were now turned with ever closer and closer interest. The *Christian Instructor*, a periodical published under high sanction, and in some degree the organ of the evangelical party in the Church, had now entered the lists against himself. The criticism

in which it indulged was, I understand, sharp and unfriendly; and to the author of the papers in which he was specially assailed, the Rev. Marcus Dods, Presbyterian minister at Belford, in Northumberland, and afterwards known as the author of a work on the *Incarnation*, partly, I believe, originating in this controversy, the following letter, a production, perhaps, almost unique in theological controversy, was addressed: another proof, if any were wanting, of Irving's inability to conceive of a nature less candid, manful, and brotherly than his own:—

"London, 13 Judd Place, East,
"March 8, 1830.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is reported to me (and, indeed, without any signification of doubt, a friend, who wrote me the other day a letter from Edinburgh, approving what you have written, speaks of it without even an allusion to uncertainty) that you are the author of two critiques in the *Christian Instructor* upon some of my writings.

"I do not ask you whether you are or not; indeed, I would rather not know by whom they are written, for I am told they are very severe in their language and in their spirit, though I can only speak from report of others, not being in the habit of reading that work. The object for which I write is to ask the favour of your setting down, in a brief form, what is the doctrine you hold on this subject, that I may leisurely consider it in my own mind; for I am assured you would not write on such high subjects without having well considered them. And I will set down for your perusal the sum of the doctrine which I hold; of which, let me say, till within these two years, I never knew that there were two opinions in any orthodox creed and true Church. I believe, then,—

"1st. That all things, with man as their lord, were created holy and sinless.

"2nd. That since the Fall they have all, with man as their head, become altogether sinful, without the power of redeeming themselves.

"3rd. That the Eternal Son of God, very God of very God, by incarnation unto death, and resurrection out of death, redeemed man the head, and man's inheritance.

"4th. That flesh in human nature was created all good, then it became all evil, then in Christ it became all holy, and by the Resurrection it became all glory.

"5th. That by generation our nature is all sinful, as Adam's was after the Fall, that by regeneration it is strengthened of Christ the regenerator, the second Adam, to overcome all sin, and that by resurrection it is changed into Christ's glory.

"6th. That sin in the regenerate ariseth, not from the weakness of the Spirit of Christ in them, but from their own moral wickedness, which they give place to, and so contract guilt, which needs a continual atonement or forgiveness, whereof we are assured in the good work of God's having united himself to our nature and sanctified it.

"7th. With respect to the experience of the Son of God in our nature, I am content to say that He was tempted in all points like as we are, and yet never sinned: when I want to have this truth expanded I study the Psalms and the Prophets, which testify of Him.

"Now, dear sir, and fellow-labourer in the ministry of truth, I shall take it very kind if you will set down in a form somewhat similar to this the views which you hold upon these subjects, that I may consider them at my leisure.

"For God knows, who knoweth all things, that I have no desire upon this earth but to know His truth and to declare it. I would rather that you exhibited your views in a summary form, than that you entered into criticism upon mine, although I should take it very kind, if you should notice anything wrong, that you should mention it. If you lived nearer me, I should think nothing of coming to converse with you at large upon these great points of our common faith. It is not the first nor the second time that I have travelled 100 miles to converse with men who were making the deep things of God their meditation.

"Though, certainly, the having heard that these articles, so

severe on my writings, as I am informed, were written by you, was the occasion of this letter, I beg there may be no reference whatever to that subject, for what I do not know I do not need to think about, and, if I did know that you had said, or written, or done the severest things to me, what is that but a call for me to forbear, and endeavour either to know your truth or to make you know mine? If you say, Why not read the articles? my reason is, that for many years I have walked by the rule of not reading anything personally addressed to me, unless the name of the person who writes it be subscribed. And this I do as the only way of honouring our Lord's rule, given in the 18th chapter of Matthew, for the redress of all personal offences, requiring that the persons should know one another.

"Let, therefore, everything connected with that subject be as far from your mind, when you answer, as it is from mine while I write this letter. Let us just regard each other, as, in truth, we are, two brethren—two fellow-labourers in the vineyard of our Lord. I write this without the knowledge of any one, my wife lying asleep upon the sofa beside me, and my porritch cooling before me.

"If ever you come to London we shall talk this matter over at large: you shall be welcome to my house, as every brother is. Farewell! May God bless you and bless your labours, and lead us into all truth! This is the prayer of your faithful brother and fellow-labourer,

"EDWARD IRVING,
"Minister of the National Scotch Church."

I am not informed what answer Mr. Dods made to this remarkable letter, but its noble charity and candour certainly did not in any way change the character of the violent opposition offered to Irving and his doctrines, gradually increasing, as they were more fully known, and rising into public prosecution, directly after, in the cases of Messrs. Maclean and Scott. Though his labours continued abundant as ever, and though amid all the gathering tumult of controversy,

glimpses of the much-labouring man appear in the domestic letters of his relatives at this period, in which we can perceive him as deeply absorbed in pastoral duties as if these alone were the occupation of his life; yet a deep sadness was henceforth visible in his own estimation of his warfare. To the bottom of his heart he was disappointed with the decision of Scotland against him; and, from the time that he began to foresee that decision, a tone of melancholy pervaded all that he said of himself. "Sufferings and trials, my dear friend, are the good of faith," he wrote, during this spring, to an old and beloved companion: "they work patience, and patience is the way to perfection. I have a fiery conflict; my enemies have now become those of my own household, the members of the Church of Scotland; but I am only the more confirmed in my faith of a present Saviour and of a future reward. Oh, my dear William Graham, let your disappointments and trials in this world wear you into the fold of the grace of God, our blessed Lord and Saviour!" This was the result his own disappointments and trials produced: they threw him more and more upon that Divine sympathy, which, more and more as it consoled him, he felt to come from the human bosom of a Saviour who knew in all their reality the troubles of the flesh — the sick heart and the disappointed soul.

To the correspondence of this period, while still the only public assaults upon himself were by means of the press, and while no authoritative censure had been yet proclaimed upon either of his followers, belongs also the following letter to Dr. Chalmers — a letter of

confidence and friendship so undoubting, that it is wonderful to believe that it met with little response. It is prefaced by a petition from the Session of Regent Square, that the distinguished Scotch preacher, who was to visit London during the summer, should preach in their Church. After preferring which request, Irving proceeds to unbosom himself with all the freedom of friendship:

"I need not say how unabated is my esteem of you, and how sincere my gratitude to you; and I believe that the wicked and shameless attacks upon me have no great effect upon your mind. You are a professor of theology; I am a theological minister, orthodox to the faith, and who can discern the unsoundness of a multitude as well as an individual. If those papers in the *Instructor*, of which I have heard scraps, and seen extracts, and know the substance, be the opinions of the ministers of the Scottish Church, then it is time that you, the professor of theology, and all orthodox men, should join together to resist the tide of error. I feel a dependance upon the largeness of your comprehension and the charity of your heart, and your cautiousness to take offence, which is refreshing to my spirit forecasting the future. And really I am ashamed, in the sight of English scholars, to see a man, pretending to judge these great questions, talking about *Monothelos himself*, and ὁ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, signifying an ordinary man. . . . . These things ashame me in the presence of English scholars. I know not what apology to make for the *Christian Instructor*, confounded as it generally is with my worthy and kind friend, Dr. T——. If he is ever to become your colleague, get him at least better instructed in the nomenclature of the heresies; so that he shall not mistake the name of an opinion (one-willer), for the name of a man [Monothelos].

"I remember, when I dined with you, you opened to me your views concerning a first theological class, which should open the subject as a branch of liberal education. It is curious that, in looking over the printed acts of the Assembly from 1690 to 1720, I should find a recommendation or act

to the same effect. I cannot lay my hand upon it now, being in the country; but, before you come to town, I will. When you come to town, I will be glad to be of all service to you that I can. My family are at present at Bayswater, hard by Kensington, where Wilkie lives, for the health of my wife and youngest child. I hope the Lord is restoring them. I have many things to bear; but the Lord and His truth sustain me. I gather strength and confidence daily. The Lord prospers my ministry. The addition to my church within the last year has, in communicants alone, been near to one hundred and eighty persons; and great, great fruit have I of my labours among the clergy of the Church of England. There is not a corner of this part of the island where the subject of Prophecy and the Second Advent have not in the Church firm and able supporters. And for the heresy of our Lord's humanity, when a friend of mine, passing from one diocese to another, had to give an account of his faith on that head, they would not believe that any one could doubt that our Lord took humanity under the conditions of the Fall. These were the Bishops of Gloucester and London; and yet the present most zealous prosecutor of Mr. Maclean preached to the people of Irvine a whole sermon to prove that He took man's nature before the Fall; and others of his co-presbyters did the same. . . . Oh, if there be any truth in the land, if the Church of Scotland be not given up of God, these men will be yet made to pay for it. 'Let nothing be done through vain glory.' You see how, being now a professor of theology, and I aspiring to become a doctor thereof, I write accordingly. Farewell, honoured and beloved sir! . . . I pray God to strengthen you for all His will, and to endow you for your most momentous station. . . .

"Your faithful and dutiful friend,

"EDWARD IRVING."

Nothing can be more remarkable than the contrast between Irving's repeated appeals to his friend's standing as professor of theology, and the conduct of Dr. Chalmers during the eventful and momentous period which

had just commenced. During the following year several men, of the highest character and standing, were ejected from the Church of Scotland on theological grounds—grounds which Dr. Chalmers, occupying the position of *Doctor, par excellence*, in the Scottish Church of the time, should have been the foremost to examine, and the most influential in pronouncing upon. Dr. Chalmers quietly withdrew from the requirements of his position in this respect. That he pursued his special work nobly, in the face of all the agitation of the period, is a small excuse for a man who was so little of a recluse and so much of a statesman: it is, perhaps, the chapter in his life least honourable to the most eminent Scotch Churchman of his day. He was not bold enough, at that crisis, to put that "largeness of comprehension and charity of heart," in which Irving trusted, into competition with the vulgar fervour which swept the popular Assembly into anathema and deposition. "Amid this conflict of opinion, of which he was far from being an unmoved spectator, Dr. Chalmers preserved unbroken silence," says his biographer. It seems exactly the course of procedure which Dr. Chalmers ought *not* to have adopted; and this becomes all the more apparent in the light of Irving's frank appeals to the professor of theology—he whose business it was to discriminate most closely, and set forth most authoritatively, the difference between truth and error. The conflict which had begun in the Irvine presbytery against Mr. Maclean, and that which was in full course in the Dunbarton presbytery against Mr. Campbell, were, however, matters with which authority or learning had nothing to do; no council of

doctors or fathers, no gravely-elect judicial body, examined into those delicate and difficult questions. The countryside sat upon them in its array of witnesses; the presbytery, an indiscriminate and miscellaneous crowd of ministers, by no means distinguished (as, indeed, no mass of men can be distinguished) for clearness of perception, theological learning, or judicial wisdom, decided the matter, or else referred it to the decision of a synod and assembly equally miscellaneous and indiscriminate. Meanwhile, the chief representative of what is called in Scotland the theological faculty, sat apart and preserved unbroken silence, leaving the ship at a crisis of its fate, the army at the most critical point of the battle, to the guidance of accident or the crowd. It is impossible not to feel that this abandonment of his position, at so important a moment, was such an act of cowardice as must leave a lasting stain upon the reputation of one of the greatest of modern Scotsmen.

In March, the first steps of ecclesiastical prosecution were taken against Mr. Maclean. This gentleman, the same to whom Irving's noble *Charge* was addressed at his ordination, had been presented to the Church and parish of Dreghorn, in Ayrshire, in the beginning of the year, where his coming was hailed by the presentation of a petition from some of the heritors and members of the Church to the presbytery, calling their attention to his heretical opinions. The appeal of these theological critics was met by the ecclesiastical court to which it was presented in the promptest manner. Their action was rapid but singular. They drew out a series of questions, which the young clergyman was called upon to answer; entering fully, and in an artful, sug-

gestive way, likely to lead him to the fullest committal of himself, into the doctrine in dispute—or rather into their own statement of the doctrine in dispute—in which it was called "the peccability of our Lord's human nature;" and specially insisting upon explanations as to what our Lord might have done had he not been possessed and anointed by the Holy Ghost — a possibility wholly disowned and rejected by the assailed individual, who was thus placed at the bar under compulsion of criminating himself. Mr. Maclean was inexperienced, and perhaps not over-wise, perhaps rash and self-devoted, as is seemly for a young man. He accepted the questions, and answered them in detail, with natural effusiveness and a want of prudence which is very obvious, though it is difficult to condemn it. A harassing process immediately commenced. No information upon the state of the parish which possessed a population so ripe for controversy, and thoroughly prepared to take the field at a moment's notice, is afforded us; but the theological parishioners held to their protest, and from presbytery to synod, and from synod to assembly, the case was dragged and combated. The interest of Irving in this matter was naturally of the deepest kind; yet, perhaps, scarcely so exciting as the more immediate contest, in which he himself was called upon to take part, in the ecclesiastical court of which he was a member. There Mr. Scott, being called to go through the trials necessary for his ordination to the Scotch Church at Woolwich, stumbled upon the same point, and kept the presbytery to repeated meetings, which, by a chance perhaps unparalleled before in the annals of the Presbytery of London, were, in right of

their connection with the distinguished name of Irving, reported anxiously in the newspapers, the *Times* itself pausing to remark and comment upon the proceedings of the Scotch ecclesiastical tribunal. These proceedings, indeed, seem, according to the newspapers, to have made a wonderful ferment in the perplexed world, which still watched the progress of a man in whom it could not choose but be interested for good or for evil. Mr. Scott, being in delicate health, had requested that his trial discourses might be delivered to the presbytery alone, without admitting the public, and his desire had been agreed to. This fact, which looks innocent enough, is taken up and commented upon by the various papers of the day with an interest and vehemence amazing to behold. It is denounced as a violation of the Toleration Act by various voices of the public press, little apt to interest themselves in the proceedings of Scotch Presbyteries; and the *Record*, with pious spitefulness, does not hesitate to add, that "the privacy was adopted at the suggestion of Messrs. Irving and Scott, as the means of concealing from the public the actual views and feelings of the presbytery: illustrating the truth of Scripture, "He that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God." The same paper declares that, "If the presbytery refuse Mr. Scott ordination, they must necessarily call upon Mr. Irving to recant, or resign his charge. It is gratifying to find so much firmness, intelligence, and faithfulness in the Presbytery of London." This commendation, however, seems, from the point of view adopted by the *Record*, to have been somewhat prema-

ture, as the immediate conclusion of the Presbytery was one which, without deciding the question so far as Mr. Scott was concerned, gave equal satisfaction and consolation to Irving. He gives the following account of it in the preface to a little work, entitled, *Christ's Holiness in Flesh*, which was published in the following year :—

"About this time it pleased God to try the faithfulness of the ministers of the Scotch Church in London by this great question. A preacher, being called to one of the churches in connection with the presbytery, applied to them for ordination, and his trials proceeded with approbation till they came to this question of our Lord's human nature, and there they stuck fast. It was thought good to have a private conference of all the brethren, both ministers and elders, upon this question, at which we came unanimously to the conclusion of doctrine, which is embodied in the third part of this tract, in the drawing up of which I had no more hand than the others, and none at all in the submitting of it. It was the pure and unsolicited deliverance of the unanimous presbytery. By that deliverance I am willing that every sentence which I have written should be tried."

A more full account of the same satisfactory deliverance is given in the two following letters; the first of which, addressed to Mr. Macdonald, is chiefly occupied with the twin case of Dreghorn :—

"London, 13 Judd Place, East,
"21st May, 1830.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—To set your mind at rest with respect to the orthodoxy of our opinions on the great subject of the human nature of our blessed Redeemer, I need only to report what was the conclusion to which we came in our presbytery last night, with one consent,—'That the human nature of our Lord was of the virgin's substance, perfectly and completely sanctified or purified in the generation of it by the work of the Holy Ghost, and underwent no process or progress of purification.' I fear there is a point of difference between us and

some of the Edinburgh theologians, who look upon this work as a physical work, changing the natural substance of His humanity, whereas it is the whole truth to believe that it was a divine indwelling of Godhead power, and not a physical change in the created thing, in the creature part. But as to the holiness of it, flesh and soul, there is no question, and ought never to have been any, were it not that the Church had been asleep, and awaked in bad humour, and spake angrily, and about things before her eyes were well opened. This is all to be borne with; and will, if you prevent things from being precipitated. I write to you as a lawyer at present, to give you my views, not of the theological but constitutional doctrine of this momentous case.

"No one will doubt that a presbytery has power to put questions to a preacher, even after he has been ordained; but how jealous the Church is of this power is evidenced in her instructions, even at ordination, not to insist afresh upon the catechetical questions which have been already gone through at licensing, and likewise in this, that it has never been done, that I know of, since the time that Principal N* was removed from London to Edinburgh. Study that case, and see how cautiously both the Presbytery and the Assembly conducted themselves. God grant the same discretion to the Assembly now sitting! Granting the power to put questions for their satisfaction, I doubt very much their power to put a series of written questions, and require written answers in any case whatever. I do not know an instance of it, and, if permitted, I see it would lead to this,—that the ruling powers of a presbytery may put every probationer or student into the condition of either giving way to their opinionativeness, or standing the issue of an ecclesiastical process. . . . . To ask the accused party to purge himself by declarations, what is it but inquisition, pure inquisition? . . . . Next, what have they made of their answers? They resolve themselves into a committee of the whole house, in order that they may have freedom from restraint and from responsibility, and then they report to themselves. What is

* The name is illegible in the MS., and I do not know what is the case referred to.

the use of a committee? It is to give grave consideration to the matter, to afford delay, to explicate it thoroughly, to deal with it wisely, and to prepare the matter for the judgment of the whole court. Ah me! that Maclean had taken my advice, and done what John Campbell has wisely done; but should not a young man and inexperienced be protected from oppression? Now is the time for the Assembly to entrench itself behind the forms of justice, in order to protect justice from that tempest of public opinion which Satan, through his ministers, the press-gang of anonymous writers, has raised. Oh, my friend, the son of faithful men, stand for substantial justice in this case, and, if no more can be done, postpone the matter till the storm be over. It ought to be treated as Boradale's case, and Nisbet's, and Simpson's, and Campbell's were, by appointing a committee of discreet and temperate divines to converse with Mr. Maclean, and to report to the Assembly, and, if their report be satisfactory, the presbytery of Irvine should be required to proceed according to the rules of the Church, and to erase these questions and answers from their minutes. With a petition containing grave charges before you of a most excellent minister of the Church, tried and proved, to proceed by putting him to the question, and condemning him upon his own declaration, is, granting the grounds were good, the most pure piece of inquisition ever practised. Remember, the question of orthodoxy is at issue; I maintain the spirit of the Irvine questions to be thoroughly heterodox; and, if God spare me, I will prove it to be so. The question of orthodoxy is at issue; now, when was a question of orthodoxy settled at a sederunt of the General Assembly? The rule of the Assembly's orthodoxy is not Wilson of Irvine. . . . The rule of her orthodoxy is the Confession of Faith; this Maclean is willing to subscribe. . . . God appear for the right and for the truth! Say to the Prophetic Society that I will come and preach for them whenever I can get away, and they can get a church. My wife is well, the children but delicate, and poor Scott is sick; the Lord tries me sore, but gives me not over to death. The work of the Lord prospers mightily. Your faithful friend, and the friend of your dear children,

"EDWD. IRVING."

The next, which treats of the same contest, but, as it had occurred in London in Mr. Scott's case, is addressed to Dr. Martin, and refers, at the commencement, to the stupid commotion raised about the presbytery's private meeting, and supposed breach of the Toleration Act :—

"27th May, 1830.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You may have been concerned about these most foolish and false reports in the newspapers about our presbytery, and about me personally. The simple truth was, that according to the custom of, I believe, most presbyteries, we permit the young men to have their questionary trials private, if they please, which Mr. Scott desiring, to the custom we deferred; although a young man so learned and accomplished in all kinds of discipline I have never met with, and as pious as he is learned, and of great, very great discernment in the truth, and faithfulness Godward and manward. . . . But in the correspondence I have taken no part. Mr. Hamilton merely contradicted the falsehoods. However, I am such rare game that I believe it has furnished all the provincial and even metropolitan newspapers with a rare hit at me; and I have the blessed privilege of being 'evil spoken of for the Lord's name sake. Nevertheless, I was afraid that our presbytery should have been brought under the influence of the idol 'public opinion,' and also that they should have drunk into the form of heterodoxy, which is working among the dissenters here, and I think in some parts of our Church also, though I am glad to say, utterly rejected by the Church of England. This, however, proved groundless, when we came together this day week for conference in committee, and found that we could unanimously agree upon the much disputed subject in this proposition—'That the human nature of our Lord was of the virgin's substance, sanctified and purified by the work of the Holy Ghost in the generation, and sustained always in the same state by the same work of the Holy Ghost, and underwent no process or progress of purification.' That is to say, was

holy at the first as at the last; and from the first to the last only by the work of the Holy Ghost, and that the same work always. So, what I have been contending for, I have the happiness of seeing at least our presbytery unanimous to receive. They have attempted to fasten upon me the charge of making our Lord's human nature undergo a process or progress of sanctification; that is, that there is a time at which it was not so holy as it was at another time. It is a false charge, and most of those that bring it know that it is false, if they have read my writings like honest men. For the rest, I have not time to say anything, except that I am more and more shocked and ashamed at the state of verbalism in which the Church reveals itself to be. I think, so far as this generation of believers is concerned, the Incarnation had as well never have been: a word would have done it all. But these things cannot stand. There must either be a more vital, real, and matter-of-fact theology, or no church, no holiness. I have sought to put a system of facts and of God under their system of words and lessons; and for this they call me a blasphemer! Woe is me! woe is me! God send us better days! Farewell! The Lord strengthen you for the maintenance of His truth.

"Your faithful and affectionate son,

"EDWD. IRVING."

While these struggles were progressing at different points of the compass—Maclean, at Dreghorn, entangled in a mean and harassing series of examinations, in which his orthodoxy was tossed from hand to hand of two parties of peasant witnesses, whose recollection or non-recollection of his sermons was the sole ground on which to prove him guilty or not guilty; while Scott, more fortunate in his judges, had fallen sick, and brought the complicated argument, as regarded himself, to a temporary suspension—the other influence to which I have referred was rising upon the stormy firmament. In the little farm-house of Fernicarry,

at the head of the Gairloch, the saintly Isabella Campbell, whose name has been already mentioned, had lived and died a life of such unusual and expressive sanctity as to draw pilgrims to her couch and to her home from many quarters, and to confer upon her haunts a singular and touching local celebrity. The spot where this peasant girl—elevated by simple devotion and holiness into one of those tender virgin-saints whom Nature, even under the severest Protestant restrictions, can scarcely choose but worship—was accustomed to pray, is still one of the shrines of the district. It was at one time a retirement of delicate simplicity—a lonely nook on the hill-side, close by the devious and picturesque channel of a tiny mountain stream. The burn still leaps in tiny waterfalls down its ledges of rock, undisturbed by that gentle memory; but some enthusiast pilgrim has built a wall, a memorial of rude homage and affecting bad taste, round the mountain-ash and little knoll, which the girl-saint had made into a sanctuary. When Isabella died, a portion of her fame—her pilgrim visitors—her position as one of the most remarkable persons in the countryside, a pious and tender oracle—descended to her sister Mary. This was the young woman "of a very fixed and constant spirit," as Irving describes, whom Mr. Scott, a few months before, had vainly attempted to convince that the baptism with the Holy Ghost was distinct from the work of regeneration, but was as much to be looked and prayed for as the ordinary influences of the Spirit. Mary Campbell seems to have been possessed of gifts of mind and temperament scarcely inferior to genius, and, with all the personal fascination of beauty added to the

singular position in which her sister's fame had left her—visited on terms of admiring friendship by people much superior to her in external rank, and doubtless influenced by the subtle arguments of one of the ablest men of the day,—it is impossible to imagine a situation more dangerous to a young, fervid, and impressionable imagination. For the circumstances under which that spark took light, I can only refer my readers again to the Memoir of Mr. Story, of Rosneath, where they are fully and with great graphic power set forth. The actual event is described by Irving as follows :—

"The handmaiden of the Lord, of whom he made choice on that night (a Sunday evening in the end of March), to manifest forth in her His glory, had been long afflicted with a disease which the medical men pronounced to be a decline, and that it would soon bring her to her grave, whither her sister had been hurried by the same malady some months before. Yet while all around her were anticipating her dissolution, she was in the strength of faith meditating missionary labours among the heathen; and this night she was to receive the preparation of the Spirit; the preparation of the body she received not till some days after. It was on the Lord's day; and one of her sisters, along with a female friend, who had come to the house for that end, had been spending the whole day in humiliation, and fasting, and prayer before God, with a special respect to the restoration of the gifts. They had come up in the evening to the sick-chamber of their sister, who was laid on a sofa, and along with one or two others of the household, they were engaged in prayer together. When in the midst of their devotion, the Holy Ghost came with mighty power upon the sick woman as she lay in her weakness, and constrained her to speak at great length, and with superhuman strength, in an unknown tongue, to the astonishment of all who heard, and to her own great edification and enjoyment in God,—'for he that speaketh in a tongue edifieth himself.' She has told me that this first seizure of the Spirit was the strongest she ever

had; and that it was in some degree necessary it should have been so, otherwise she would not have dared to give way to it."

It was thus that the agitating and extraordinary chapter in the history of the modern Church, which we have hereafter to deal with, began. It is not in my province, happily, to attempt any decision as to what was the real character of these marvellous phenomena. But the human circumstances surrounding their earliest appearance are remarkable enough to claim the fullest exposition. The first speaker with tongues was precisely the individual whom, under the supposition that they were no more supernatural than other elevated utterances of passion or fervour, one would naturally fix upon as the probable initiator of such a system. An amount of genius and singular adaptability which seems to have fitted her for taking a place in society far above that to which she had been accustomed; a faculty of representing her own proceedings so as, whether wrong or right, to exculpate herself, and interest even those who were opposed to her; a conviction, founded perhaps upon her sister's well-known character, and the prominent position she herself was consequently placed in, that something notable was expected from her; and the joint stimulus of admiration and scoffing—all mingled with a sincere desire to serve God and advance his glory, were powerful agencies in one young, enthusiastic, and inexperienced spirit. And when to all these kindling elements came that fire of suggestion, at first rejected, afterwards warmly received, and blazing forth at last in so wonderfully literal an answer, it is impossible not to feel how many earthly

predisposing causes there were which corresponded with, even if they did not actually produce, the result. In saying so much, I leave the truth or falsehood of the "Tongues," entirely out of the question. I do not judge Mary Campbell, much less the numerous others who, without the excitement of Mary Campbell's special surroundings, afterwards exhibited the same power. But I should not be fulfilling the task I have undertaken, if I did not point out the dubious cradle from which so wonderful a development proceeded; and the singular position of influence and universal observation occupied by this young woman—her consciousness that she stood full in the eye of the little world that surrounded her—her personal fascination and mental powers. Such an opportunity of acting upon what, in a limited horizon, seems the universal mind, scarcely occurs to a member of the humbler classes once in a generation; to a woman, perhaps not once in a thousand years. Altogether this youthful female figure, appearing out of the troubled expectant country as with a message from heaven; this inspired creature, fair and delicate and young, with all the hopes and purposes of youth removed into superlative spiritual regions,—nothing more earthly than a mission to the heathen occupying her solitary musings,—is one which nobody can turn from without wonder and interest, and which naturally awoke the highest excitement in the already agitated district to which she belonged.

Nor was this all. On the opposite shores of Clyde, in the little town of Port Glasgow, dwelt a family distinguished, like these two young Campbells, for a

profound and saintly piety, which had marked them out from their neighbours, and attracted to them many friends, out of their own condition. The leading members of this household were two brothers, according to all report, men of the soberest steadfast life, quietly labouring at their business, and in no way likely to be the subjects of ecstatic emotion. But with results more startling and wonderful still, the newly-awakened power glided over the loch and river, to the devout and prayerful house of the Macdonalds. Touching first upon an invalid sister, it then burst upon the elder brother with an impulse more extraordinary than any mere utterance. James Macdonald had returned from the building-yard, where he pursued his daily business, to his midday dinner, after the calm usage of a labouring man. He found the invalid of the household in the agonies of this new inspiration. The awed and wondering family concluded with reverential gravity that she was dying, and thus accounted to themselves for the singular exhibition they saw. "At dinner-time James and George came home as usual," says the simple family narrative, "whom she then addressed at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James, that he might *at that time* be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. Almost instantly, James calmly said, 'I have got it.' He walked to the window, and stood silent for a minute or two. I looked at him, and almost trembled, there was such a change upon his whole countenance. He then, with a step and manner of the most indescribable majesty, walked up to ——'s bedside, and addressed her in these words of the 20th Psalm, 'Arise, and

stand upright.' He repeated the words, took her by the hand, and she arose." After this wonderful event, with inconceivable human composure, the homely record continues, "we all quietly sat down, and took our dinner;" an anti-climax to the extraordinary agitation and excitement of the scene just described, which no fiction dared attempt, and which nothing but reality, always so daring in its individual opposition to recognised laws of nature, could venture to have added to the description. The young woman was not merely raised from her sick-bed for the moment, but *cured;* and the next step taken by the brother so suddenly and miraculously endowed, was to write to Mary Campbell, then apparently approaching death, conveying to her the same command which had been so effectual in the case of his sister. The sick ecstatic received this letter in the depths of languor and declining weakness, and without even the hand of the newly-inspired to help her, rose up and declared herself healed. I do not pretend to account for these extraordinary circumstances. Whatever natural explanation they may be capable of, I do not believe it possible to account for them by supposing anything like trickery or simulation beneath. They take their place among the many other unresolvable wonders which have from time to time perplexed the world; but whatever the cause, the result was real. Mary Campbell, who before this time had been confined to bed, from this moment, without any interval, returned to active life; became, as was natural, the centre of double curiosity and interest; spoke, expounded, gave forth the utterances of her power in crowded assemblies, and entered into the

full career of a prophetess and gifted person. The Macdonalds, less demonstrative, and more homely, went on upon their modest way, attracting crowds of observers, without being thereby withdrawn from the composed and sober course of their existence; and thus a new miraculous dispensation was, to the belief of many, inaugurated in all the power of Apostolic times, by these waters of the West.

When these extraordinary events became known, they reached the ear of Irving by many means. One of his deacons belonged to a family in the district, who sent full and frequent accounts. Others of his closest friends — Mr. Story, in whose immediate parish the wonder had first arisen, and Mr. Campbell, whose teaching had helped to inspire it, looked on with wistful scrutiny, eagerly hopeful, yet not fully convinced of the reality of what they saw. Mr. Erskine of Linlathen went upon a mission of personal inquiry, which persuaded his tender Christian soul of the unspeakable comforts of a new revelation. Almost every notable Christian man of the time took the matter into devout and anxious consideration. Even Chalmers, always cautious, inquired eagerly, and would not condemn. On Irving the effect was warmer and more instantaneous. Assured of the personal piety which nobody could gainsay, and doubtless moved with a subtle, unconscious, propitiating influence, conveyed by the fact that his own distinctive teachings were echoed in what seemed divine amens and confirmations through those burdens of prophecy, he does not seem to have hesitated for an instant. One of the immediate circle round him, an Englishman and a lawyer, went down

to Port Glasgow to examine and report. A subtle agitation of hope, wonder, and curiosity pervaded the Church, which, under Irving's half-miraculous realisations of every truth he touched, must have been fully prepared for the entirely miraculous, whenever it should appear with reasonable warrant and witness. The future palpitated before the earnest leader and his anxious followers. If their controversies did not slacken, broken lights of a consolation which, if realised, would be unspeakable and beyond the hopes of man, came to brighten that troubled, laborious way. It was a moment of indescribable hope and solemn excitement, when, to the strained eyes and ears, and throbbing hearts, which stood watching on the threshhold of revelation, nobody could predict or conceive what wonderful burst of glory any moment might bring.

The following letters appear, however, to have been written in the suspense of this crisis, before any absolute manifestation of the new gifts had been made in England. In this interval Dr. Chalmers once more visited London; and seems, according to the details in Irving's letters, to have preached not only on a Sunday, but also at some weekday services in the National Scotch Church. At this moment, Irving's much-tried household was again in deep anxiety and distress. The little Samuel had been for some time ill; so ill that the troubled house was unable to offer the ordinary hospitalities to the visitor, but had to fulfil those duties, so imperative to the habits of Scotsmen, vicariously through Mr. Hamilton; and the anxious father was even afraid to be out late in the evening,—his dying

baby holding stronger to his heart than even his much-prized friend, to whom once more he thus expresses his affection :—

"Believe me when I say that, in regard to the preaching also, it is the entire love and high admiration which I have of you that makes me feel it so desirable. I am sore beleaguered, and have almost been beaten to the ground; but my God hath sustained me, through your means. The time will come, and perhaps is not far distant, when I shall begin to be understood and valued according to the sincerity of my heart: but if not, let me die the death of the righteous One, who was crucified as a blasphemer; and let my latter end be like His."

This was the last encounter, so far as mutual help and sympathy were concerned, of these two singularly unlike men. They went together once more, before they parted, to visit Coleridge, as they had gone together to visit him when life and hope were at their brightest for Irving, and everything seemed possible. Strangely different must this second visit have been. Seven years before, Chalmers, half-wondering, half-amused, had watched the young preacher in the early flush of his fame, sitting at the feet of the sage; both of them equally curious, and half-decipherable to the eyes bright with characteristic genius, which yet did not know that development of uncongenial and mysterious light. Now the two elder men watched the younger with regret, amazement, and impatience equal to their mutual incomprehension. He had left the calm regions of philosophy far apart and behind. He had left the safe limits of ecclesiastical restraint. The divine and the philosopher gazed at him with a certain

mournful admiration and affectionate anger. Coleridge "poured out an eloquent tribute of his regard," into the ears of Chalmers, "mourning pathetically that such a man should be throwing himself away." They did not comprehend, neither the one nor the other, that nothing in this palpitating human world could be abstract to that passionate, splendid, human soul; that it was as truly his mission to render up love and life, to break his heart, and end his days in conflict with the shows of things, and vehement protestation for the reality, as it was theirs to dream, to ponder, to legislate, to abide the bloodless encounters of argument and thought. They watched him going on to his passion and agony, with wondering hopes that advice and remonstrance might yet save him; unperceiving that the agony and passion by which this man was to prove the devotion of a loyal heart to his Master's name and person, and unspeakable certainty of spiritual verities, was indeed the true object and purpose of his life.

While Chalmers was still in London, but apparently on the eve of quitting it, and after they had taken leave of each other, the following letter seems to have been written:—

"13 Judd Place, East,
"June 2nd, 1830.

"My dear and kind Friend, — I have at last found the document I referred to. You will find it in the printed Acts of the year 1704, Act xxviii., and from the 6th of certain '*Overtures* concerning Schools and Bursaries, and for instructing youth in the principles of religion;' and is as follows*: —

* It is unnecessary to quote the extract made by Irving, which bears reference to Chalmers's idea of making theology one of the branches of liberal education.

"There are very many Acts of the Church scattered through these years following the Restoration concerning the advancement of learning, which would, I think, strengthen your hands very much in any undertaking to that effect.

"I had thought to see you, to thank you in person for your great kindness to me and my church on this occasion; but the state of my poor boy's health prevents me leaving home for a night. Accept of them now, and be assured of my willingness to repay unto Christ and His Church the kindness which by you He hath shown unto me; and whenever any opportunity occurs of serving you personally, be assured of my readiness.

"I perceive two things in Scotland of the most fearful omen: First, self-sufficient ignorance of theological truth, and a readiness to pride themselves in and boast of it, and to call everything speculation which proposes to advance the bounds, or rather narrow limits, of theological knowledge. My doctrine on our Lord's human nature is as literally the doctrine of the Confessions of the Church as can be — viz., That He took the human nature of the Virgin, that it was thoroughly and completely sanctified in the generation by the work of the Holy Ghost, and underwent no process or progress of sanctification. Yet, through ignorance of the person and office of the Holy Ghost, I perceive the greatest horror to prevail against this truth, and a readiness to adopt one or other of the errors — either that His nature was intrinsically better than ours, or that it underwent a physical change before its assumption into the person of the Son. If you would see, within a short compass, the three opinions brought to the test of the Confessions of Faith, I recommend to you a short anonymous tract, entitled *The Opinions circulating concerning the Human Nature of our Lord brought to Trial before the Westminster Confession of Faith.* You ought to give some study to this point, and stand in the breach for the truth. I have thoroughly gone through the subject of the Incarnation; and if it served you, could at any time give you the history from the beginning of the controversies on this subject, and of its present form. The second thing which grieves and oppresses my heart with respect to poor Scotland, is the hardness of heart manifested in the

levity and cruelty with which they speak of others; the zeal and readiness with which they rush to overthrow such men of God as John Campbell; the union of all parties to this end; the scorn with which they regard the signs of the Holy Ghost beginning to be again vouchsafed to the Church; and, if not scorn, the mere juryman way of considering them, as the House of Commons might, without any respect to any existing promise, or probability, or doctrine of any kind upon the subject, — also without any regard to the discernment of the Holy Ghost in us, and even as if the Holy Ghost were merely a sharpener of our natural faculties to detect imposture or to know sincere persons. The substance of Mary Campbell's and Margaret Macdonald's visions or revelations, given in their papers, carry to me a spiritual conviction and a spiritual reproof which I cannot express. Mr. Cunningham, of Lainshaw, said to me the other day, that he had seen nothing since the Apostles' days worthy to be compared with a letter of Mary Dunlop's which is written to a person in this city. Thomas Erskine and other persons express themselves more overpowered by the love, and assurance, and unity seen in their prayers and conversations than by the works. Oh, my friend! oh, my dear master! there are works of the Spirit and communions of the Spirit which few of us ever dream of! Let us not resist them when we see them in another. Mind my words when I say, 'The Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland will lay all flat if they be not prevented.' I desire my true love to Mrs. Chalmers and Miss Anne. May God give you a prosperous journey!

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"EDWD. IRVING."

To all these appeals the man whom Irving addressed, with touching loyalty to the past and its associations, as "my dear master," seems to have made no response whatever. If he examined that momentous question at all, or re-examined it at the entreaty of his friend, whose very life was involved in its consideration, no record remains to prove it. He left the controversy to

be settled by the nameless Presbyters of Irvine and Annan, voluntarily making his own learning and influence useless in a controversy most deeply momentous to the Church, and which only the doctors and fathers of the Church ought to have given any deliverance upon. At the crisis then existing, I repeat, Chalmers and his equals permitted this matter, and also the equally important process of Mr. Campbell of Row, to be discussed and virtually settled by an untrained country population; a manner of procedure, I presume, justified by the laws of Presbytery, but in the profoundest discordance, not only with reason and justice, but with the true spirit of a system which professes to hold its authority not from the people, but from God.

As, I believe, they never met again after this year, I add, though a little out of chronology, the farewell mention which Chalmers makes in his diary of their final parting.

"*Oct.* 1830.—Had a very interesting call from Mr. Irving between one and two, when I was in bed. He stopped two hours, wherein he gave his expositions; and I gave, at greater length and liberty than I had ever done before, my advices and my views. We parted from each other with great cordiality, after a prayer which he himself offered with great pathos and piety."

So the two made everlasting farewells, so far as this world was concerned, and parted in life, spirit, and career, each retaining a longing love for the other. The friendship of Chalmers, which was not strong enough to draw him personally into the conflict, or to give him any sympathetic understanding of the entire

devotion with which Irving abrogated reason itself, in obedience to what he believed the voice of God, was yet enough to raise him above the vulgar lamentations which broke forth, at Irving's death, over his misused talents and sacrificed life. The great Scotch divine knew well that his friend's life was not wasted; and with cumbrous but grand phraseology, and a labouring of tears in his voice, made that eulogium of "the Christian grafted upon the old Roman," by which he acknowledged his consciousness, notwithstanding separation and estrangement, of this primitive, heroic soul.

In the mean time, however, all the tumults in Irving's life were veiled over, and all its hopes subdued, by the fluttering of a baby life, as it waned and declined towards the grave, which already had swallowed up so many blossoms of his existence. This profound domestic anxiety gave him, as was natural, a deeper trembling interest in the miraculous reports that reached him. The command of intense and undoubting faith which had raised Mary Campbell from her sick-bed, might still raise that declining infant, whose baby days were numbered. From the little bedside he gazed out wistfully upon the horizon, where miraculous influences seemed hovering, but had not yet revealed themselves; hoping in the prayers of the Church, in the faith of the saints, in the intervention of the Lord himself, when earthly hope was over. It is not possible to enter into this phase of his life without perceiving the heart-breaking glimmer of terrible hope and expectation which mingles with the elevated and lofty anticipations of a new outpouring of the Spirit, and gives a certain colour to the father's hopes and prayers.

"My darling boy," he writes, "is very poorly. We have no dependance upon human help. Nothing but that power of hearing and answering prayer offered by the Church, for the testimony of which, as still resident in the Church, I have stood these many years, and for which these despised Row people are now suffering, can bring my dear Samuel from his present weakness back again to strength. Oh, my dear A——, tell me when this distinction of the works of the Spirit into ordinary and extraordinary arose? There is no such thing in the Scriptures. I believe the Holy Ghost is as mighty in the Church, and, but for our unbelief, would be as apparent, as ever He was. I pray you to be upon your guard against speaking evil of any mighty work which you may hear of in the Church; for in the last days God will pour out His Spirit upon all flesh."

Such seems to have been as yet his attitude in respect to the supernatural commotions in the west of Scotland. And there is no evidence that as yet they had extended to London, or appeared in his own immediate surroundings. Those surroundings, however, had modified and changed as the years grew. New friends, bound together by the close and peculiar links of prophetic study; new followers, detached out of other Churches by his influence, and adhering to him with all the closeness of choice and personal election, had joined the old friends and faithful Churchmen of former days, with a more jealous and fervid allegiance. Minds, to whose latent enthusiasm his eloquence gave the quickening thrill, and who had followed him so far with ever-rising thoughts, that it became natural now to follow him whithersoever his fervent inspiration might lead, and to believe in everything he thought possible, had glided into the circle closest to him, surrounding his anxious soul, in its

troubles, with a dangerous readiness of sympathy and assent. Among them were men on whose friendship he reposed with all the characteristic trust of his nature; and women who served him unweariedly with willing pen as amanuenses, proud of their office. These closest friends watched with himself, with kindred eagerness, the flushings of light upon the distant firmament. And to him it was always easier to believe the miraculous than the mean and common. By right of his nature, he understood a thousand times better how God could bestow and lavish the extraordinary gifts of His grace, than how the poor practicabilities of human nature could limit the Divine profusion. It is indeed important to remember, while entering upon this most momentous period, how much attuned to the miraculous was his fervid genius and absolute lofty tone; and how much the sublimation of his mind gave to all the course of nature that aspect of daily miracle which its wonderful successions present more or less to every thoughtful eye.

In July, another prophetical meeting was appointed to be held at Albury. His child was still ill, indeed hourly progressing towards his end; but supported by the thought that this was a sacred duty, and the direct service of his Master, and also by the assurances given him, by many of his anxious friends, of the prayers they had presented, with full assurance of faith, for the infant's life, Irving ventured to leave the troubled household, where his wife was supported by the presence of her mother and sisters. With what tremblings of love and faith he went, will be seen from the following letters:—

"Albury Park, 1st July, 1830.

"MY DEAREST WIFE,— While I am serving God in the house of our common Husband, Christ, you are serving Him in the house of me, your husband, and both of us together fulfilling the portions which our God hath allotted us. . . . . Much have I thought, and much have I prayed to God for you and our dear children, especially for our beloved Samuel; and though I cannot say that God hath given me assured faith of his recovery, I can say that He hath given me a perfect resignedness to His will, which I believe to be the precious preparation for the other. For until our faith and prayer spring out of resignation, 'Not my will but Thine be done'— it is asking amiss to gratify not the life of God, but the life of nature, which in us, and all the members of Christ, ought to be crucified and dead. Last night I was troubled with some visions and dreams which afflicted me; but this morning, having arisen early, I found great consolation in prayer to God. In my prayers I seem to forget my own trials in the trials of the Church. I am carried away from my own pain to the wound of the daughter of my people. It is very curious how I am always brought back to the children through you, my partner in their care, and now the whole bearer of it. 'Be careful for nothing,' but in everything, by prayer and supplication, make your request known unto God, and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep you. We arrived here at half-past four, not in time to write; and I took up the time till dinner in expressing some thoughts, preparatory to my next number of the Apocalypse. . . . . The subject to-day has been the Jews, which always yields much matter. Mr. Leach opened it, and several have spoken this forenoon with very great power. I feel as if far more light had been afforded me upon this subject than at any time heretofore. I would say there has been more of the spiritual, and less of the literal,—more of the results of wisdom, and less of mere knowledge or learning. I trust it will so continue. Ah me! how little do they know who speak evil of this meeting, what it really is! To me it is the greatest spiritual enjoyment in this world. I try to devote myself with entire heart to my Father's business, and to

repose you and my dear babes with entire confidence upon His care. If I am often invaded by the thoughts and fears of a father, I lift up my soul to Him who is the Father. What a blessing to have a faithful wife! Had you not been what God's grace has made you, I would not have been here. Had you signified your wish that I should remain, or even faltered in your consent, I should not have been here. To you, my dear wife, the Church owes whatever benefit I may be of now; and surely I never felt more the duty of addressing myself to the Lord's work. Indeed, but for your bearing and forbearing with me, what might I at this day not have been, who am now your devoted husband, and desiring to be the faithful servant of God and the Lord Jesus Christ. God reward you with much enjoyment and profit in your love to me, for it has been very great! It has come to rain most fearfully for the last hour, and is now pouring down in torrents. God pity the beasts of the earth, and let them not want. The hay is very much damaged here. I desire my most dutiful love to your mother, and my heart-felt thanks for her love to us all; . . . . and, oh, remember me lovingly to dear Maggie, and tell her to stir up the gift of the Holy Ghost that is in her! and for dear Samuel, God rest and restore him! Farewell, my well-beloved wife. I desire you always to think of me as entirely one with you, even as you are with me. My kind consolations to Dr. Carlyle, and my affectionate love to George. Also remember me with kindness to both the servants.

"Your faithful and affectionate husband,

"EDWD. IRVING."

"Albury, 2nd July, 1830.

"MY VERY DEAR WIFE,—I desire to be thankful for the consolation of the letter of the two physicians, and I pray you to thank them both for me for all their care and kindness. Also I am satisfied to know that Dr. Farr agrees with the judgment which they have formed and been acting on; and I desire that George and Dr. Carlyle should consult together, and do for the dear babe whatever they can, and do it in faith as far as they are enabled; joining prayer of faith

to their use of means. Withal my confidence is with the chief Physician, and I feel only the more trust, as I see the case to be the more extreme. One thing I know, that my soul hath been much humbled, and my hard heart much melted by this visitation of the Lord. All the brethren here seem deeply to sympathise with us, and I think there is much grace upon the brethren. . . . . Mr. Cunningham is gone away. His company has been very pleasant and profitable. He is in very deed a man of God. He considers himself to have been put out of the Church of Scotland for the testimony of the universal atonement. If indeed it be so, he is honoured. My dear, we must not treat Christ as a common physician, or believe that He has not remedies because the physicians have none. May the Holy Spirit grant us strong and lively faith for our dear child! My love, you must take care of yourself, and not undertake so much without looking up for very much strength by much faith. Let not your much labour for dear baby proceed of carefulness, but of a confidence in God for strength; and if God weaken you, consider it as His sign that you should confide more to others. . . . Mr. Hawtrey, Mr. Bayford, and I come in to-morrow, taking a chaise from Ripley. I shall be home about nine o'clock in the evening,

"Your faithful and affectionate husband,

"EDWD. IRVING."

On the 3rd of July he appears to have returned home; and on the 6th this child of prayer gave up its little life, and left another blank in the household so often invaded. Miracle did not interpose to give joy to God's devoted servant. During the whole of this last dread discipline of his life, he served God divinely "for nought," receiving none of the extraordinary graces he believed in. Already the last trial had begun. Miraculously from the edge of the grave, Mary Campbell and Margaret Macdonald in Scotland, and others in England shortly after, near and visible

to his eyes and his faith, were brought back in safety to fulfil their existence. But it was not so that God dealt with His loyal and forlorn soldier. The draught of joy, of glorious proof and assurance, that would have refreshed his soul, was withheld from his lips. If he turned away sighing, with a pang of disappointment added to his sorrow, he never paused or slackened on that account, in the faith which did not depend upon personal blessings; but watched, with an interest unabated, the new miraculous dispensation, which had not saved his child, but which yet he trusted in as divine and true.

It was this child, I think, who died so late in the week, as to leave no time for the afflicted father to find a substitute for his Sunday duties. He preached in his own church the day after; taking for his text the words of David—"I shall go to him, but he will not return to me." Persons who were present have described to me, almost with a sob of recollection, the heart-breaking pathos and solemnity of this service; and no one can have read his letters at the time of his first child's death, without being able to realise in some degree the outburst of ineffable anguish and rejoicing which must have been wrung from him by such a necessity. They say he went tearless and fasting through that dark Sabbath; and coming in from his pulpit, went straight to the little coffin, and flinging himself down by it, gave way to the agony of a strong man's grief:—grief which was half or wholly prayer—an outcry to the one great Confidant of all his troubles, the faithful Lord who yet had *not* interposed to save.

Shortly after, Irving took his mourning wife and the

one little daughter who was still spared to him, and whose health seems to have been fragile enough to keep them anxious on her account also, to Albury, from whence he writes to Mrs. Martin an account of their journey and welfare; after arriving "in the cool of one of the sweetest evenings which was ever seen," as he says with a sacramental hush of grief breathing from his words —

"Maggie has been running about with all manner of cheerfulness and joy. The day is delightful, and the scene one of the most enchanting you ever saw. The house is large and cool; the manners of it put every one at their ease; and I fondly hope it may be the means of restoring my wife and child. I desire to express my great sense of your kindness to them and to us all during the late trial of divine Providence, as during others which you have witnessed and shared with us. We must not murmur, but seek to know the end of the Lord, and to submit to His gracious will. Many a time I desire to be with my children; and I hope we shall be all gathered to His congregation ere long: for I believe the day of His coming draweth nigh, and that before these judgments fall out we shall be taken to Himself and receive the morning star. I cannot but feel the greatest interest in the things taking place in Scotland. The Church of Christ is recovering from a long sleep, and the false brethren who are mingled with the true are ready to resist her new activity; and a third party of worthy and pious people are perplexed what to think of it. I pray you, and all who wish well to the Church, but cannot clearly discern your way in the conflict of opinions, to observe the fruits of the two parties, and in this way to discover the true from the false prophets. This is the counsel of our great Counsellor, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'"

The melancholy family took their autumn holiday sadly, and, so far as Irving was concerned, laboriously as always. From Albury they went to Ireland, to visit

Lady Powerscourt; from whose house Mrs. Irving writes to her sister. The first portion of the letter refers to Mr. Scott, who had apparently, by this time, quite withdrawn from his contest with the London Presbytery; his difficulties lying not in the way of one doctrine alone, but branching out into many varieties of doubt and hesitation. He had objections to being ordained, objections to the Confession of Faith, objections indeed, apparently, to every limit which restrained his own powerful but wayward thoughts.

"On the Wednesday before we left for Ireland," says Mrs. Irving, "we dined at Miss F——'s, to see and hear our dear friend. What wonderful power the Lord gives him! His complaints are no better, in some respects; but he is enabled to speak, to teach, and exhort for many hours every day, to the edification, and comfort, and awakening of many of the body of Christ. Many feel, while listening to him, that they are listening to a dying man. Well, be it so; let us in everything be given up to the good will of God. To our short sight there appears much need of him, and such like; and if there be need of him for the Church's sake, he will be spared. He preached a most powerful discourse that evening; besides having expounded and exhorted for between four and five hours during the day. If able, he takes all the Wednesday evenings while Edward is absent. On Monday we left London at 7 A. M., and reached Bath before 7 P. M. . . . . Shortly after, some gentlemen, whom Mr. E—— has induced to study the Scriptures with him, assembled to spend the evening with us. These kind friends had made arrangements for Edward preaching at Bath. He did preach, and was said to have had a larger congregation than was ever seen before at Bath in a morning. We dined early, and our kind host accompanied us in his own chaise to Bristol. Several other friends followed us. . . . Here again Edward preached to a large and crowded audience. The packet was not to sail for Dublin till 5 P. M.; so we spent part of the morning walking

about; and Edward passed a pleasant hour with the Rev. Robert Hall. . . .

"We landed about 10 P.M. on the Dublin quay; so we went to a hotel for the night, and next forenoon proceeded to Powerscourt. Here we met a kind, hearty welcome. . . . Next morning we drove out a few miles to visit a waterfall. . . . . On our return at three o'clock, there was a great gathering to hear Edward preach. After dinner, Lady Powerscourt and Edward set out to a Mr. Kelly's, near Dublin, where he met many clergymen. On Sabbath he preached twice in Dublin: on Monday he again preached twice, and came here to a late dinner; there were several clergymen to meet him. Tuesday he preached at Bray. On Wednesday he attended a clerical meeting; upwards of thirty clergymen, some laymen, and a few ladies present. Lady Powerscourt and I stayed at a clergyman's near Dalgony, where dear Edward arrived at half-past five o'clock, snatched a hasty dinner, and preached at a little after six to a large and most attentive audience; — a most delightful and profitable discourse, and which, we have since learnt, made a very deep impression on many, and was understood by the poorest of the people. . . . . On Thursday morning we went together and attended a meeting of the Bible Society at Wicklow. Edward preached thirteen times in eight days."

This gigantic holiday work seems to have been imposed upon him, without the slightest compunction, wherever he went; parties assembling to make all they could out of the great preacher, after a twelve hours' journey, and private conferences filling up every hour which was not occupied in public labour. "You know well from my feeling and acting with regard to dear Edward," says his wife, with wifely simplicity, "that I am not one who am continually in fear about health, when a man is doing the Lord's work." And indeed there seems no leisure, in this incessant round of occupation, either for fears of health or precautions to

preserve it. An account of his preaching in Dublin, on this occasion, is given in one of the Irish papers of the time (*Saunders's News-Letter*, 18th Sept. 1830), as follows :—

"The Rev. Edward Irving, who our readers may recollect is minister of the Caledonian chapel in London, preached an able and admirable discourse yesterday, at the Scots chapel. . . . This place of worship was not only crowded to suffocation, but several hundreds assembled outside on benches placed for their accommodation in the yard. The reverend preacher was placed at the south-west window, the frame of which had been previously removed, from which he was audibly heard by the external as well as internal portion of the congregation. We observed many highly respectable Roman Catholic gentlemen present; among them were Messrs. Costello, Nugent, and other members of the late Catholic Association."

A month later, on his return to London, Irving himself thus related the most beautiful incident of his Irish travels, to his sister-in-law Elizabeth, who was then at Kirkcaldy, in the paternal house.

"London, 13th October, 1830.

"My dear Sister,—Though I have but a very short moment, I will not let Mr. Hamilton go without sending you my love and blessing. I leave to him to inform you how our matters in the Presbytery at present stand, both with respect to Mr. Scott and myself. Of this I have no fear, that the Lord is the strength of all His faithful people, and that we are contending for the foundation of the truth when we maintain that Christ was holy in spite of the law of the flesh working in Him as in another man; but in Him never prevailing as it does in every other man. It was my turn to preach before the Presbytery, and I spent two of the most gracious hours of my life in opening the subject of the Church as a co-essential part of the purpose of God, with the Incarnation of the

Son, unto which this was the preparation and likewise the way, and all the means and all the life of it. Mr. Brown, our missionary*, sees in all respects with me, and said there was not a word in my discourse wherein he took not pleasure, and that the statement on the humanity was in every tittle satisfactory to him.

"My dear Isabella and Maggie are at Lady Olivia Sparrow's; . . . . Miss Macdonald is there also: they are well. . . . What do you think of this little song:

'Come, my little lambs,
And feed by my side,
And I will give you to eat of my body,
And to drink of the blood of my flesh,
And ye shall be filled with the Holy Ghost,
And whosoever believeth not on me
Shall be cast out;
But he that believeth on me
Shall feed with me
Beside my Father.'

"It has not metre nor regular measure, and yet there is a fine rhythm in it; and I daresay your father would say it might be very well set to music. You will say, who made it? I will tell you. When the Countess of Powerscourt, after her noble and Christian entertainment of us, thought it good to bring us in her own carriage to the waterside at Kingstown, and the boat was not arrived by reason of the terrible west wind, we went into the inn; and Isabella, as her case required, was resting on the sofa, Lady Powerscourt sitting before the fire with Maggie on her knee, and I between her ladyship and my wife. Maggie broke the silence; for God had given us all three much love for one another, and we were silent, being loath to part. Maggie said: 'Lady Powerscourt, shall I sing you a song?' 'Yes, Maggie,' said her ladyship. Whereupon the child, modulating her voice most sweetly, poured forth these divine words. When she was finished, her lady-

* This gentleman had succeeded Mr. Scott when the latter was called to the Woolwich church, and was in reality Irving's assistant or curate.

ship said: 'Does not that comfort you?' But I wist not it was the child's making, and understood not what she meant; but perceiving she wished not to explain further (it was for fear of begetting vain conceit in the child), I said no more: but Maggie left her ladyship's knee, and went to the other side of the room. Then I said to Isabella, 'Where did Maggie learn that song, and who taught it her?' She said: 'Nowhere, and no one taught her.' I called the child and said: 'Maggie, my dear, who taught you that song?' She said: 'Nobody. I made it one day after bathing;' and so I thought upon the words, 'Out of the mouth of babes and of sucklings I have ordained praise,' and I was comforted. Read it to your father and mother, and tell my dear sister Margaret to set it to a tune and sing it of an evening at her house when she goes home; and think of the sweet and of the sad hours she, as well as you, dear Elizabeth, have passed with us. Give my love to your dear parents as also mine, and to all the family. Be filled with love, my dear child, to all men, and have the mind of Christ. Think not of yourself, but of your Lord, and of the glory of your God. . . . . Be stedfast and immovable in the truth, and give up all things for it. Farewell! God be with you, and bless you and your husband, and bring you back in safety!

"From your faithful brother and pastor,

"EDWD. IRVING."

Thus the five-year-old Maggie, sole blossom at that time of the two saddened lives she cheered, comforted her father's soul. He paints the little picture with minute quaint touches, which would be like Dutch painting, were they not always full of a pathetic tenderness, which has no accordance with that name. The scene lives before us in all its profound simplicity and silent emotion, distinct and vivid as reality. It is pleasant to know that this child was very like her father; grew up to have his voice, his features, something of his power of winning hearts;

and died in full womanhood, but in youth, untouched by any vulgar fate. The "dear sister Margaret," whom he exhorts to sing this touching childish utterance, was then a bride, just about going to her new home in the hereditary manse of Monimail, where her venerable grandsire had died not very long before. To her and to her husband, the following letter of congratulation was shortly thereafter addressed.

"Brampton Court, October, 1830.

"MY DEAR MARGARET AND JAMES,—I am just setting out to preach at Huntingdon, and take up my pen, before starting, to give you my benediction. May the Lord fulfil upon you the prayers which we have prayed for you, and make you as those that preceded you at Monimail! I cannot present to you two better examples. Dear Margaret, be in dutiful subjection to your husband, and strengthen his hands in every good work,—'good works in her husband to promote.' Dear James, be a loving husband, a guardian, and a guide to our Margaret; she is a precious person. God be your guide and your portion! His truth is your common rule, and His love your communion and fellowship. . . . .

"Your faithful brother,

"EDWD. IRVING."

From Brampton Court, from which this letter is written, he was, as usual, overwhelmed with supererogatory labours. "Dear Edward hurried down from London again, to be with me as soon as possible," writes his wife. "There are a goodly number of hearers, and hearers *all day long* here; so that yesterday Edward spoke almost constantly from nine in the morning till eleven at night, what with expositions, dictating for an hour, and answering questions." How either mind or body sustained this perpetual pouring forth, it seems difficult to imagine; but though

this very letter proves that he still *wrote*, dictating to some of his faithful amanuenses, it is a relief to believe that much of this must have been extempore. Years before, he had written a brief and striking note on Samuel Martin's Bible. "My brother, no man is furnished for the ministry, till he can unclasp his pocket Bible, and wherever it opens, discourse from it largely and spiritually to the people." Nothing but such a capacity could have carried him through the incessant calls upon him; which indeed are curious exemplars how those pious nobles who are nursing fathers and mothers to religion, having laid hold upon such a notable and willing labourer, do their best to work him to death.

It is very evident, at the same time, that he never had a thought or conception of saving himself. A glimpse of another unsuspected branch of labour, gleams out in a speech reported in the newspapers as having been made at one of the May meetings in this year, a meeting in behalf of the Destitute Seamen's Asylum, at which the great preacher appeared to "bear testimony to the excellence of the institution from personal observation, having been accustomed to minister to the seamen once a fortnight. He had witnessed," he says, "the spectacle of six or seven houseless seamen herding at the bottleworks at Shadwell, for the sake of the warmth," but had afterwards found "from 130 to 150 seated in comfort to a homely meal, with such a spirit of order maintained among them, that never in one instance had his holy avocation been disturbed by any act of irreverence." So far as any one can see, he had nothing in the world to do with these

sailors, with all his own manifold affairs in hand; but to a soul never in any difficulty to know who was his neighbour, such brotherly offices were more restful than rest.

On his return to London from these laborious wanderings, he writes to his wife,—"The Lord has preserved my flock in love and unity; and we assembled on Sunday as numerous as at any former period. Our meeting of Session was very delightful. . . . . Mr. Henderson and Dr. Thompson are fully convinced of the reality of the hand of God in the west country work, and so is Mr. Cardale. Pray for Mary Campbell; she is under some temptations." But while this was a matter of constant reference and anxious expectation, and while restoration to health, as miraculous and extraordinary as that which happened at the Gairloch, had startled into still warmer excitement the believers about London in the wonderful case of Miss Fancourt*, Irving's mind was still much more entirely occupied with the momentous matter of doctrine, on which so great a commotion had lately risen. Mr. Maclean's case was not yet decided; but Mr. Scott had, as has been mentioned, formally withdrawn his from the consideration of the Presbytery of London, by the objections against ordination, and indeed against most matters distinctive of an ecclesiastical organisation, which had arisen in his mind. The Presbytery of London was reduced in number at the moment. Several of those ministers who came to the conclusion, which a few months before gave so much comfort to Irving,

* See Appendix A.

seem to have left its bounds. The little ecclesiastical court was balked but emboldened by the discussion, which had been rendered fruitless by the withdrawal of Mr. Scott; and now a bolder move suggested itself to one of its members, who resolved upon bringing the great preacher himself to the bar. Irving had just been entertaining dreams of another apostolic visit to Edinburgh, when this threatened stroke arrested him. Always drawn, by a fascination which he seemed unable to resist, towards his native country, he had written to Mr. Macdonald: "I desire very much, if possible, to come to Edinburgh for one fortnight, to preach a series of discourses upon the nature and acts of the Incarnation. I wish it to be during the sitting of the college, and in the evenings, or evenings and mornings, when the divinity students might attend. Ask Mr. Tait if he would risk his pulpit, or could you get another?" The arrangement even went further. In December, Irving wrote again to the same friend:—

"Mr. Maclean comes up this very week, and to him, with our most devout and devoted missionary, I can with all confidence commit my flock; so that in the Christmas recess I can and, God permitting, will be with you to keep the feast. . . . Mr. Carlyle's counsel is good, and I take as the subject of my evening discourses the Epistle to the Hebrews—'A series of lectures upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.' But my wife has suggested, and I have faith to undertake besides, if you think it good, a series of prophetic expositions, in the forenoon of each day, upon prophetical subjects connected with the signs of these times, the restoration of the Jews, the coming of the Lord and His kingdom. For many ladies and infirm people might come out in the morning who could not venture in the evening, and some might desire both. In this case I would make Sunday a resting day, and show my dutifulness

to the Church in waiting upon the ministry of my brethren. Now I could set off from this so as to be in Edinburgh on the eve of Christmas day, that is, Friday night; and, if you please, you might advertise the lectures to begin on Saturday. . . . . At the rate of a chapter each night it would occupy me just a fortnight, after which I might find time to visit my friends in various parts for another week, and so return, having been absent three Sabbaths. Judge and decide, and send me word by return of post. When my dear brother Alexander Scott comes to Edinburgh (he is to be married this day, God bless him!), would you say that if he were to remain and go over the subjects with me privately, I should deem it a great help? but let him be free. . . . . My flock is in great peace and harmony, and I think concentrating more and more, praised be the Lord!"

He had, however, no sooner arranged thus particularly the details of a Christmas holiday so much after his own heart, when the apostolic enterprise was put a stop to, for the moment, by the course of events which brought him, in his own person, before the bar of the Presbytery, and began the series of his ecclesiastical persecutions.

This process and its issue he himself describes, with his usual minuteness, in the preface to *Christ's Holiness in the Flesh*, from which we have already quoted. After reference to the discussion in Mr. Scott's case, the narrative goes on as follows:—

"Some time after this, one of the brethren of the Presbytery signified to me by letter his purpose of calling my book into question the next day after he wrote, when the Presbytery was to meet; to whom I replied that this was to proceed against the divine rule of Christ, which required him to speak to myself privately, and then with witnesses, before bringing a matter before the Church. In this he acquiesced, and did not make any motion concerning it; but another brother did,

when I solemnly protested against the proceeding; and the Presbytery would not entertain it, but required that I should be privately conferred with. Many weeks passed, but no one of them came near me, until the next meeting of the Presbytery was just at hand. Then the first mover of the matter waited upon me, and I laid before him the tract, instructing him to point me out the objectionable parts, when, to my amazement, he either would not or could not; for though he shuffled over its leaves, he could not alight upon anything; and then at length he said he would write what he objected to. But he never did it. I stood engaged to be in Ireland, and could not be present at the next meeting of Presbytery; yet in my absence he sought to force it on, and was again prevented by the Presbytery. When I returned, being appointed with two other members of Presbytery (for besides myself there were but three ministers in all), to confer with the young preacher referred to above, as desiring to withdraw his application for ordination, because he could not sign the Westminster Confession of Faith; when the conference was over, these two brethren did request that we might converse together upon the tract; and they pointed out two or three passages in it to which they objected, for which kindness I was very thankful. But still the brother who had stood forth from time to time as my accuser took no opportunity of conferring with me whatever. And when, at the next meeting, he brought forward his motion indicting my book, and reading from it many passages to which he objected, I stood forth, and having first disabused the Presbytery, and also the people, of the errors laid to my charge, as if I taught that Christ sinned in instead of sanctifying our nature, I moved that the contumacious brother should be censured for setting at nought both the canon of the Lord and the order of the Presbytery, and be required to proceed regularly. But, to my astonishment and vexation, I found the very same Presbytery willing to indulge him, and these very members who had themselves sanctioned their own order by conferring privately with me. I then rose the second time, and signified to them what I could and what I could not submit to, the adjudication of that body of three ministers and as many elders, from whom I had no appeal. Everything which

affected my conduct amongst them as a brother, I would submit to free censure and rebuke if necessary; but nothing affecting my standing as a preacher and ordained minister of the Church of Scotland, and as the minister of the National Scotch church in Regent Square, who, by the trust-deed, must be ordained by a Presbytery in Scotland, and not by the Presbytery of London. It was argued that I stood wholly and entirely at their tribunal; and when I perceived that there was nothing for it but either to give up my standing as a minister of Christ to the judgment of these six men, or to dissolve my voluntary connection with them, I resolved of the two evils to choose the least, and not to submit the authority of the Church of Scotland to the verdict of any six men in Christendom. And though I have tried my conscience much, I feel that I did right. But before taking this final step, I rose the third time and conjured them by every tie and obligation to Christ, to the Church, to myself personally, to my large and numerous flock, to the memory of my brotherly labours with and for them, to my acts of service and kindness to them individually, which I will not here, and did not there, enumerate, to take the regular process of the Lord's appointing, and I doubted not all would be well. Which when they would not do, I arose and went forth from them, appealing my cause to the Church of Scotland, who alone have rightful authority over me and my flock. . . . . The Presbytery, notwithstanding my solemn separation from their association, and likewise the separation of the elders of the National Church, and the whole Church with us, proceeded with their measures against me, and carried things to the utmost stretch of their power. For all which they are answerable at the bar of the Head of the Church, and not to me."

Another account of the same event, in which a greater degree of personal feeling and excitement appears, was contained in a letter which—a few days after the one previously quoted, in which he had arranged all the preliminaries of a Christmas visit to Scotland—he addressed to Mr. Macdonald :—

"My very dear Friend,—I have now had an opportunity of consulting both my session and other influential men of the congregation, and they are all of one mind, that, even though it should precipitate the present mixture of good and evil in the Church, and bring down upon my head wrath, I should do it*; but not immediately, because of our own trials. The Presbytery of London, that is, three members, one of them just taking his leave, and another of them having oftentimes declared his agreement with me, and two elders, one of them having done the same,—these five persons, in the face of my protest against their power, Mr. Hamilton's against their injustice, and the elder of Woolwich and the elder of London Wall's entire disapprobation, have condemned my writings, excommunicated me from their body, and recommended their sentence to be read from the pulpits. Our session met last night and drew up, and subscribed with their hands, a solemn testimony to the truths taught by me and held by us; and I have added a brief explanation of the principles on which I acted by the Presbytery and the Presbytery by me; and it will be published in all ways, and read from our pulpit next Sabbath. We are as one man, blessed be the Lord, and so is all my flock. What a grace!

"Nevertheless, some thought that I should be at my place for a few Sabbaths, and I wished every day to visit the flock and establish them. So that we must pass from the Christmas recess, and without at present saying when, hope and pray that it may be as soon as possible. . . . . If you should see any likelihood of its being perverted send me instant notice, and I will come at all hazards rather than lose the opportunity, which I perceive to be a golden one. . . . . My plans are the same for the subjects as in my last letter. If any change arise I will communicate. Now pray much for us here, because there are many enemies; but, oh, what a wide door, and effectual! The Lord has given me the honour of being the first to suffer; blessed be His name!

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"Edward Irving."

* Referring to his projected sermons in Edinburgh.

This somewhat wilful and lofty step of denying the jurisdiction of the London Presbytery, left Irving in an isolated position, which, though it did not in any respect, as yet, injure his external standing, touched his brotherly heart. He seems to have intrenched himself stoutly, like the impracticable visionary man he was, behind that divine rule of procedure, which has long ceased to be, if ever it was, the rule of ecclesiastical proceedings. To require men to do, even in Church matters, exactly and literally what their Lord tells them, is a thing few think of attempting; and the ordinary spectator will doubtless sympathise to some extent with that hapless Presbytery of London, whom the great preacher, in the simplicity of his heart, called to private conference with himself, before they ventured on public condemnation. He was not aware, as his unfortunate accuser was, that in private conference, the weaker man naturally goes to the wall; nor could comprehend, in his ingenuous greatness, how antagonists, so unfit to cope with him individually, might be glad to huddle together, and express, in what language of condemnation they could, their confused sense of something beyond them, which they could neither consent to nor understand. Nothing can be more expressive than that pertinacious agreement which, when they were thus put to it, united the alarmed presbyters, each man of whom well knew that, in private conference, he must infallibly break down and yield. They seized their opportunity with a vulgar but wise perception of it, refusing the perilous ordeal of private personal encounter; and with a lofty indignation, which might be almost arro-

gance, were one to name it harshly, the accused arose and went forth. He had no insight into that expedient of weakness. He called that harshly injustice, which was mere fright and natural human poltroonery — and so left them, giving, in his own elevated thoughts, a certain grandeur to the petty persecution. Henceforth he was alone in his labours and troubles; no triumphant gladness of conscious orthodoxy, because the Presbytery had so decided, could hereafter give assurance to his own personal certainty. They of his own house had lifted up their heel against him. Notwithstanding all his independence, the profound loyalty of his soul was henceforward balked of its healthful necessities. The only authority which could now harm or help him, — the sole power he recognised,—was distant in Scotland, apart from the scene of his warfare and the knowledge of his work, judging coldly, not even without a touch of jealous prejudice. He was cast unnaturally free of restraint and power; that lawful, sweet restraint, that power endowed with all visionary excellences and graces, to which the tender dutifulness so seldom wanting to great genius naturally clings. It was hard,— it was sad,— it was almost fatal work for Irving. He could not live without that support and solace; and when this disjunction was accomplished, he found his presbytery, his authority, the needful concurrence and command which were indispensable to him, in other things.

The statement drawn up by the Session, to which he refers above, was as follows: —

"London, 15th December, 1830.

"We, the Minister, Missionary, Elders, and Deacons, of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, feel it a duty we owe to ourselves, to the congregation to which we belong, to the Church of Christ, and to all honest men, no longer to remain silent under the heavy charges that are brought against us, whether from ignorance, misapprehension, or wilful perversion of the truth; and therefore we solemnly declare—

"That we utterly detest and abhor any doctrine that would charge with sin, original or actual, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom we worship and adore as 'the very and eternal God, of one substance, and equal with the Father; who, when the fulness of the time was come, did take upon Him man's nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin;' 'very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man;' who in the days of His flesh was 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and full of grace and truth;' 'who through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God;' 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,' 'a Lamb without blemish and without spot;' in which offering of Himself 'He made a proper, real, and full satisfaction to His Father's justice in our behalf.' And we further declare that all our peace of conscience, progress in sanctification, and hope of eternal blessedness, resteth upon the sinlessness of that sacrifice, and the completeness of that atonement, which He hath made for us as our substitute.

"And, finally, we do solemnly declare that these are the doctrines which are constantly taught in this Church, agreeably to the standards of the Church of Scotland, and the Word of God.

"EDWARD IRVING, Minister.
DAVID BROWN, Missionary.

ARCHIBALD HORN,	Elders.	CHARLES VERTUE,	Deacons.
DAVID BLYTH,		ALEX. GILLISPIE, JUN.	
WM. HAMILTON,		JOHN THOMSON,	
DUNCAN MACKENZIE,		J. C. HENDERSON,	
JAMES NISBET,		THOS. CARSWELL,	
		DAVID KER,	

In the midst of these personal agitations and ecclesiastical troubles, a quaint and characteristic public incident diversifies the history. The congregation at Regent Square, under Irving's inspiration, had decided upon presenting a petition to the King, calling upon him to appoint a national fast. The petition itself, a powerful and eloquent production, like all Irving's personal appeals, is now only to be found in collections of the tracts and pamphlets of the period. Accompanied by three of his elders, he went to Lord Melbourne by appointment, to present this singular address. While they waited in the anteroom the premier's leisure, Irving called upon his somewhat amazed and embarrassed companions to kneel and pray for "favour in the sight of the King's minister," as a private letter describes it. When they were admitted to the jaunty presence of that cheerful functionary, the preacher read over to him at length the remarkable document he came to present; during the reading of which, we are told, "Lord Melbourne was much impressed; and also by some solemn things Mr. Mackenzie (one of the elders) said, on the only means of saving this country." When they took leave, the minister "shook hands heartily" with Irving, who, holding that hand in his gigantic grasp, "implored the blessing and guidance of God on his administration." A scene more remarkable could scarcely be. On one side an impersonation of the good-hearted, cheerful man of the world, bland by temper and policy, to whom most things were humbug, and truth a fluctuating possibility; and confronting him the man of God, in utter loyalty and simplicity, mournful over falsehood, but little suspicious of it, to whom all truth

was absolute, and hesitation or compromise unknown. They confronted each other for a moment, a wonderful spectacle; the prophet soul bestowing lofty benedictions upon the awed and wondering statesman. It is a picture with which we may well close the record of this momentous year.

CHAPTER IV.

1831.

THE year 1831 dawned upon Irving solemnly, full of all the prognostics of approaching fate. He was himself separated from the little ecclesiastical world which had hitherto represented to him the Church of his country and his heart. The Presbytery, in which he had heretofore found a sufficient symbol of ecclesiastical authority, and which stood in the place of all those venerable institutions of Church government and legislation on which he had lavished the admiration and reverence of his filial heart, had rejected him, and been rejected by him. While still strenuously upholding his own title to be considered a minister of the Church of Scotland, he stood isolated from all the fellowships and restraints of Presbyterianism, virtually separated—though always refusing to believe in or admit that separation—from the Church upon which he still and always looked with so much longing love. His closest and most prized friends were in actual conflict with the same ecclesiastical authorities; or at least with the popular courts and theological controversialists, who were all that Scotland had to represent the grave and patient authority of the Church. Mr. Campbell, of Row, after

years of apostolical labour, the efficacy of which was testified by the whole district which his influence pervaded, a man whose vital piety and apostolical life nobody could impugn; and Mr. Maclean, younger, less wise, but not less a faithful servant of his Master, were both struggling for bare existence in the Church, and approaching the decision of their fate within her bounds. Their names were identified and united with that of the solitary champion in London, whose forlorn but dauntless standard had risen for years among all the enmities which can be encountered by man. He who had not hesitated to adopt the cause of both with warm enthusiasm, stood far off in his solitude, watching, with a heart that ached over his own powerlessness to avert it, the approaching crisis, at which his beloved Church was, according to his conception, to deny the truth, and condemn her own hopes and future life in the persons of these "defenders" at her bar. Nearer home, Mr. Scott had temporarily withdrawn from the contest, which, in his case also, was to be decided at the sitting of the General Assembly, in the ensuing May. Without even that dangerous but beloved henchman at his elbow, supported only by an assistant, who, doubtless entirely conscientious and trustworthy so long as his support lasted, was yet to fail him in his hour of need, Irving stood alone, at the head of his Session, clinging to that last prop of the ecclesiastical order in which during all his former life his soul had delighted. Condemned by his Presbytery, and held in suspicion by the distant Church to which he owed allegiance, the little local consistory stood by him loyally, without an appearance as yet of division.

Every man of them had come forward in his defence and justification, to set their name and credit to the stake on which he had put his heart and life. They were his earliest and closest friends in London, stout Churchmen, pious Christians, sufficiently Scotch and ecclesiastical, attached to all the traditions of the Church, to make it possible to forget that they stood, a little recalcitrant community, and "inferior court," in opposition to the orthodox jurisdiction of the next superior circle of rulers. Minister and Session alike delivered themselves triumphantly from this dilemma, by direct reference to the Church of Scotland. It is possible that a little unconscious jesuitry lay in this appeal; for the Church of Scotland was as powerless to interfere on the southern side of the Tweed, as the Bishop of London would be on the north; and so long as the minister of the National Scotch Church refrained from asking anything from her, could not interfere, otherwise than by distant and ineffectual censures, with his proceedings. Such, however, was the attitude they assumed; a position not dissimilar from that of certain English clergymen in Scotland, who, professing to be of the English Church, refuse the jurisdiction of the Scottish Episcopal, and live bishopless, and beyond the reach of government, in visionary allegiance to their distant mother.

Amid all these outward agitations, Irving's heart still throbbed with personal sorrows and joys; from the sad experience of the former comes the following letter, written to his sister, Mrs. Fergusson and her husband, on the loss, so well known to himself, of one of their children:—

"London, 17th January, 1831.

"My dear Brother and Sister,—You have at length been made to prove the bitterest of mortal trials, and to feel it is a season of peculiar grace to the people of God. George* felt desirous to answer your letter communicating the painful information, and I was glad to permit him, that you may see he has not forgotten you. I think he is very true-hearted and honest in his affections.

"Now, my dear brethren, while you are exercised with this sorrow, while the wound and smart of it is still fresh in your hearts, be exercised much in faith and prayer towards God, in humility, and repentance, and confession of sin for all your house. That being exercised with the affliction, you may be made partakers of His holiness. I remember well when I lost my darling Edward: it taught me two lessons; the first, how little I had dealt faithfully towards God in his baptism, not having surrendered him altogether to the Lord, and used him as the Lord's stewardship, to be surrendered when it seemed good to his Father and to my Father. Let me pray you to take this view of the children who are still spared to you. The second lesson which I learned was, to know how little of human existence is on this side the grave, and by how much the better and nobler portion of it is in eternity. This comforted me exceedingly, and I seek to comfort you with the consolation with which I have myself been comforted of Christ.

"For our own affairs, I have had much to suffer for the truth's sake since I was with you, and expect to have much more to suffer in the course of not many months. I know not where nor how it is to come, but I know it is coming; and in the foreview of it, I ask your prayers and the prayers of all the faithful near you. . . . ."

Early in the year, the mournful household was gladdened by another prosperous birth, that of the only surviving son of the family, Martin Irving, now Principal of the University of Melbourne. On this occasion, Irving, writing to his father-in-law, Dr. Martin,

* His younger brother, then practising as a surgeon in London.

to "give him joy of a grandson," enters as follows into affairs less personal, but equally engrossing: —

"Though I have not time now to answer your much-esteemed letter, I will just say this to keep your mind at ease, —that I never suppose the union of the Son of God with our nature to be otherwise than by the Holy Ghost; and therefore, whatever in our nature is predisposed to evil, was always by the Holy Ghost disposed to good; moreover, that there are not two persons, the one the person of the Holy Ghost, and the other, the person of the Son, in Him, but that He, the Son of God, acting within the limits of the Son of man, or as the Christ, did Himself ever use the Holy Ghost to the use and end of presenting His members a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God. That it should be a sacrifice doth not render it unholy, for the text saith holy; and how was it a living sacrifice, but by continually putting to death and keeping in death the law of the flesh. The difference, so far as I can apprehend your doctrine between us, is, that you suppose the Holy Spirit to have at once and for aye sanctified the flesh of Christ before He took it, that He might take it; I say that Christ did this ever by the Holy Spirit, but that it was as completely done at the first as at the last; and to your notion I object many things which I will draw out in order and send to you. Oh! how you mistake in thinking that such a letter as you wrote me would not be most acceptable! I thank you exceedingly for it. I would that others had done likewise. But, dear and honoured sir, be assured that my confidence in the truth of what I hold is not of the teaching of man, but is of the teaching of the Word and Spirit of God. . . . My blessing be upon you all, —the blessing of one of Christ's servants, who loves his Lord, and is ready, by His grace, to give up all for His name's sake!"

In the same spring, while still explaining and re-explaining to his friends, with inexhaustible patience, this special doctrine, Irving was also preparing another work on the same subject, published shortly afterwards

under the title of *Christ's Holiness in Flesh; the Form and Fountain-head of all Holiness in Flesh.* The preface to this book consists of a long, minute, and animated narrative of the progress of the controversy as far as it had proceeded, and especially of the dealings of the London Presbytery with himself, from which I have already repeatedly quoted. The story is told with a certain flush of indignation and self-assertion, as of a man unable to deny his own consciousness of being himself a servant and soldier of Jesus Christ, more zealous and more fully acknowledged of his Master than those who, in Christ's name, had condemned him. The book itself is one which he seems to have been satisfied with as a fit and careful statement of his views. "I should like that it were sent among the clergy," he writes to his friend Mr. Macdonald, in Edinburgh, "I think it will be popular enough to pay its own expenses in time." In the same letter he declares that "I intend being in Edinburgh at the Assembly, if I should crawl and beg my way. God give me both strength of body and mind to endure what is before me! I intend proceeding by Galloway and Dumfriesshire; and desire to preach in Edinburgh twice a day the first week of the Assembly; the second, to be at leisure for conference and business." This intention, however, he did not succeed in carrying out. The still more engrossing interest then springing up at home, or motives of prudence, strange to his usual mode of procedure, kept Irving away from the actual arena at that momentous period. He did not go to Edinburgh for that Assembly, nor thrust himself into conflict with the Church. What happened

there he watched with the utmost eagerness and interest; but the prudence of his friends, or his own interest in matters more immediately calling his attention, kept him at that moment from personal collision with the excited and jealous courts of the Scotch Church.

He did, however, all that an earnest man could do to influence their proceedings. Having already exhausted himself in explanation and appeal to the tribunal, where he still hoped to find mercy and wisdom in the case of his friends, and patience and consideration for himself, he did the only thing which remained possible to his devout and believing heart. He besought the prayers of his people for the direction of the ecclesiastical parliament. In the brightening mornings of spring he invited around him the members of the Church, to pray for wisdom and guidance to the General Assembly—an Assembly which, to many of these members, had been hitherto little known, and less cared for. He collected not only his staunch Scottish remnant, but his new and still more fervent disciples, who knew nothing of Scotland or her Church, to agree upon this thing which they should ask of God. They met at half-past six in the morning for this object; and there, in the Church so fondly called National, Irving, fervent and impassioned, presented the prayers—not only of the Scotch Churchmen who understood the matter fully, but of the puzzled English adherents who believed in *him*, and were content to join their supplications with his, for a matter so near his heart—on behalf of the ecclesiastical rulers who were about to brand and stigmatise him as a heretic. This prayer-meeting for the benefit of the General

Assembly, was the origin of the early morning service which has now become one of the characteristic features in the worship of the "Catholic Apostolic Church." Engaged in these daily matins on their behalf, Irving remained absent from the Assembly and the people of Edinburgh at a crisis so interesting and important, but did not the less follow the deliberations, in which he himself and his friends were so deeply concerned, with breathless interest and anxious attention.

Neither his personal activity, however, nor the popularity which had so long followed him, was impaired by the anxiety of the crisis, or by the rush of his thoughts in another direction. He still spent himself freely in all manner of voluntary services. In April, his sister-in-law Elizabeth, Mrs. Hamilton, mentions, in her home letters, that "Edward has commenced a Thursday morning lecture, besides the Wednesday evening. He is going through John's Gospel in the morning, and through Genesis in the evening. The Sunday evening services are crowded to overflowing at present. The subject is the second coming of Christ, from the last chapter of 2nd Peter." He is also still visible at public meetings, taking his share in the general interests of religion everywhere; labouring yet again to convince the Bible Society to sanctify its business with prayer; giving up, as he himself relates, "all his spare time to the (Jewish) Institution," and getting into private embroilments by reason of his friendliness towards strangers—Dr. Chalmers at this time being, as it appears, irritated with Irving and some of his friends on account of their generous patronage of a Jew, whom the Doctor, too, would willingly have patronised as a convert,

but was not content to admit into all the equalities of Christian fellowship. If ever there was a time when Irving, longing for the adulation which attended his earlier years, and smarting from the neglect which followed, or is supposed, with a dramatic completeness not always inevitable in real life, to have followed it, turned aside to woo back fashion by singularity, now at last must have occurred that moment. But it is not the aspectof a feverish ambition, straining after the applause of the crowd, which meets our gaze in this man, now lingering, trembling upon the threshold of his fate. Fashion has been gone for years—years of wholesome, generous, gigantic labour; and on the very eve of the time when strange lights flushing over his firmament were anew to raise curiosity to frenzy, and direct against him all the outcries of propriety and all the transitory excitement of the mob, it is a figure all unlike the disappointed prophet, ready rather to call down fire from heaven than to suffer himself to fade from the public recollection, which reveals itself before our eyes. Instead of that hectic apparition, there stood in the crowded heart of London a man whom the world had never been able to forget; who needed no extraordinary pretence of miracle to recall his name to men's recollections; whose name, on the contrary, had only to be connected with any obscure ecclesiastical process to make that and everything connected with it the object of immediate attention and interest, jealous public guardians flashing their lights upon it, for the sake of the one name always intelligible through the gloom. London journals grew to be familiar with the technical terms of Scotch Presbyterianism for Irving's sake. The English

public suffered strange forms of ecclesiastical conflict to occupy its regard, because he was in the midst. This was little like the dismal neglect which wakes mad fancies in the heart of genius. Wherever he went, crowds waylaid his steps, turning noble country-houses into impromptu temples, and seizing the stray moments of his leisure with jealous eagerness. His own Church was crowded to overflowing at those services which were least exclusively congregational. Amid all this his own eyes, burning with life and ardour, turned not to fashion or the great world, not to society or the givers of fame, but were bent with anxious gaze upon that "grey city of the North," where the Scotch Assembly gathered, and where, as he conceived, the beloved Church of his fathers was herself at the bar to acknowledge or deny the truth. While he stood thus, the moment was approaching when another chapter of his history—the darkest, the saddest, the last, perhaps in some respects the most splendid of all—was to dawn upon Irving. At this crisis, when he has been supposed to be wandering wildly astray,—a disappointed notoriety—a fanatic enthusiast—a man in search of popular notice and applause, here is the homely picture of him in the words of his sister Elizabeth; a picture only heightened out of its calm of sensible simplicity by the tender touch of domestic love:—"Edward continues remarkably well, notwithstanding his many labours," writes this affectionate witness. "On Sunday we did not get home from the morning service till two o'clock. He came with us; and after dinner William and he went to visit two families in sickness; took tea at Judd Place, and went to church, half an hour before service, to talk with young

communicants; went through the evening service with great animation, preaching a beautiful sermon on 'A new commandment give I unto you;' walked up here again, and William and he went to pray with a child, up at White Conduit House. He then returned home, and was in church next morning as usual at half-past six o'clock. God gives him amazing strength. The morning meetings continue to be well attended. . . . Dear Edward has had much to bear, and we should suffer with him. He has had strong consolations in the midst of it all; and I think is endeavouring to bear a conscience void of offence towards God and towards all men. He becomes daily more tender, and daily more spiritually wise."

This was the aspect of the man about to be rapt into a mysterious world of revelation and oracular utterance, of prophecy and portent. When this sober sketch was written, he was trembling on its very verge; but whether he went forward to that last mysterious trial in hectic impatience and presumption, with a wild, half-conscious intention of presenting *himself* before the eyes of the world—or whether he approached it in all the solemn simplicity of his nature, with no thought, conscious or unconscious, but of his glorious Master and the progress of His kingdom, I do not hesitate to leave the readers of this history to judge.

Meantime, while the prayers of the faithful rose for them morning by morning in that distant London Church, echoing the anxious prayers of many an agitated soul in Scotland, the General Assembly met. To the troubles of that solemn period, when the saintly Campbell stood at the bar, to be finally and solemnly

cast out of the Church, Mr. Scott, with a certain touch of chivalric perversity which is almost amusing amid such grave surroundings, added a climax. In the midst of the anxious struggle, while Campbell and his champions laboured to prove that the standards of the Church did not pronounce against that expanded and liberal Gospel which neither Paul nor John hesitated to proclaim, here suddenly appeared this brilliant knight-errant by himself upon the field, proclaiming his readiness, not only to impugn the standards, but to argue the matter with the Church, and maintain against all comers, in the strength of an argumentative power which Irving calls unequalled, his solitary daring assault against the might of orthodoxy. The Assembly, however, took no notice of the bold summons which this dauntless opponent rang upon its shield. It deposed Mr. Campbell for maintaining that Christ died for all men, and that the whole world stood upon a common ground in universal relations to the manifested love of God; and it withdrew from Mr. Scott his licence to preach, which, indeed, considering his opposition to most ecclesiastical propositions, was not so remarkable. This notable convocation, however, had still other matters on hand. It settled the case of Mr. Maclean, of Dreghorn, by sending him back, upon technical grounds, to his Presbytery, leaving that victim to be baited to death by the inferior court; and, by way of relieving these heavier labours, it launched a passing arrow at Irving. This was done on the occasion of a *Report upon Books and Pamphlets containing Erroneous Opinions*, in approving which a motion was made to the effect that, if at any time the Rev. Edward Irving should claim the privileges of a licentiate or minister of the

Church of Scotland, the Presbytery of the bounds should be enjoined to inquire whether he were the author of certain works, and to proceed thereafter as they should see fit. This motion—a more peremptory suggestion having failed, and a contemptuous appeal for toleration, on the score that these works were not calculated to influence any well-informed mind, having also broken down—was carried. This was the first direct authoritative censure pronounced upon Irving. It gave him a personal share in the sorrow and indignation with which a large portion of the devout people of Scotland saw the Church commit itself to a rash decision upon matters so important. And it was in anticipation of some such attack that he wrote as follows, while the Assembly was sitting, to his faithful friend in Edinburgh, apparently just after having heard of the temporary unsuccess of the proceedings against Mr. Maclean:—

"London, 26th May, 1831.

. . . . . .

"We have had great joy and thanksgiving over the deliverance which we have had out of the hands of those evangelical doctors, whose violation of all natural affection (being most of them intimate friends of my own) and of the law of Christian discipline will no doubt be punished by, as it hath proceeded from, the spirit of reckless violence. Dreading this, I sit down to write you what should be our course of procedure in case the committee ask the Assembly for any judgment against me or my books. I feel that I ought not to lose one iota of my standing as an ordained minister, or even as a man, without an effort, and a strong and steady one, to preserve it. If they shall present any evil report thereupon, and ask the Assembly for a sanction of it, I give Carlyle * full power to appear at the bar for me, and claim

* Thomas Carlyle, Esq., advocate, of Edinburgh, who had conducted the case of Mr. Maclean.

for me the privilege of being first communicated with, in order to explain away, as far as I honestly can, the matters of offence; and if I have erred in any expression, to have an opportunity of confessing it; for, however they may labour to separate me and my book, their decision upon my book must materially affect my standing with the Church, and no man ought to suffer loss without the opportunity of defending himself. But if they should found upon their report any proposal to exclude me from the pulpits of Scotland, or to put any mark upon me, then I solemnly protest for a hearing, and an argument, and a libel, and a regular process of trial, with a view to that issue. For though I might, and do rejoice in my personal security, I cannot think of the Church being led to give judgment against me, or against the truth, or to bind me up from my natural liberty and right in my own country. I am not anxious about these things, but I am deeply impressed with the duty of contesting every inch of ground with these perverters of the Gospel and destroyers of the vineyard. In leaving this matter in your hands and dear Carlyle's, and, above and over all, in the hands of the Lord, to whom I now commend it, I feel that it will be well cared for. I would not intrude upon the Assembly, or trouble them unnecessarily, but I would lose none of my rights without a controversy for them in the name and strength of the Lord. . . . God has said, London is thy post; take care of that, and I will take care of thee. . . . . Our prayer meeting is well attended, fully one hundred. I do not yet think that we have had the distinct pouring out of the spirit of prayer. I feel more assurance daily that the Lord is bestowing upon me 'the word of wisdom,' which I take to be the faculty of opening the mysteries of God hidden in the Scriptures. . . . The Lord be with thy spirit!

"Your faithful brother,

"EDWD. IRVING."

The proceedings of this Assembly, momentous as they were and have been proved to be, had a special characteristic, which I will venture to indicate, though the point I remark is at once subtle and important

enough to demand a fuller and clearer exposition than I am qualified to give.* For no resistance of authority or perversion of belief was Mr. Campbell deposed, and Irving condemned. The fault of Mr. Campbell was that he received and set forth as the foundation of his creed that full, free, and universal offer of God's love and pardon, which the veriest Calvinist permits and requires his preachers to make. No preaching has ever been popular in Scotland, more than in any other country, which did not offer broadly to every repentant sinner the forgiveness and acceptance which are in Christ Jesus. However largely the inducements of terror might be used, however closely the mysterious limitation of election might be established, no preacher had ever been debarred from—on the contrary every preacher had been instructed and incited to —the duty of calling all men to repentance—of offering, to every soul that sought it, access to the Saviour, and of echoing the scriptural call to "Whosoever will." This universally acknowledged duty of the preacher was, indeed, to be ballasted and kept in due theological equilibrium by full exposition of doctrine; but no man had ever ventured to forbid or discourage the incessant iteration of that call to repentance, to conversion, to salvation, which everybody acknowledged (howsoever limited by mysteries of decree and predestination unknown to men) to be the burden of the Gospel. Mr. Campbell, a man of intense and concentrated vision, re-

* All that is said on this subject I say with diffidence, and only as one who "occupieth the room of the unlearned" may venture to form a private opinion; but nobody can glance into these controversies without feeling deeply the fatal power of *words* to obscure and overcloud on both sides the divine heart of a common faith.

ceived this commission put into his hands, and took his stand upon it. He was willing to leave the mysteries of God to be expounded by other minds more prone to those investigations than his own. He took the offer which he was instructed to make as the ambassador of heaven, as full credentials for his mission. He made this proclamation of God's love the foundation of all Christian life and faith, and believed and maintained it fervently. This was the sum of his offence against the orthodox standards of his Church. No one of all the men who condemned him but was bound, by ordination vow, by public expectation, and by Christian love, to proclaim broadly that invitation to every soul, and promise to every contrite heart, which Campbell held to be no hypothesis, but an unspeakable verity. Herein lay the peculiarity of his case. He was expelled from the Church for making his special stand upon, and elevating into the rank of a vital truth, that very proclamation of universal mercy which the Church herself had trained and sent him forth to utter.

The offence of Irving was one, when honestly stated, of a still more subtle and delicate shade. Unaware of saying anything that all Christians did not believe; ready to accept heartily the very definition given in the standards of the Church as a true statement of his doctrine; always ready to bring his belief to the test of those standards, and to find their testimony in his favour; his error lay in believing the common statement, "tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin," to infer a diviner ineffable merit, a deeper condescension of love in the human life of the holy Lord than could be stated in any formula. What the General Assembly

interpreted to mean a passive Innocence, he interpreted to mean an active Holiness in that divine immaculate Saviour, whose heavenly purity he adored as entirely as they. For this difference the Church, excited with conflict, inflicted hasty censure, to be inevitably followed by all the heavier sentences she had in her power. Such was the work of this momentous Assembly. With hasty national absolutism, it cut off from its communion, for such causes, men whom it knew and confessed to be an honour and blessing to the Church and nation which had produced them. I do not pretend to point this narrative with any moral drawn from the troubled and stormy course through which the Church of Scotland has had to pass since then; on one side always more and more absolute, impatient of inevitable conditions, and, if resolute to attain perfection, always yet more resolute that such perfection was to be attained only in its own way; but it is not surprising to find that men who looked on during that crisis with anguish and indignation,—believing that not John Campbell deposed, but the love of the Father limited or denied, and that not Edward Irving censured, but the love of the Son in its deepest evidence rejected, was the real issue of the double process—should draw such conclusions, and contemplate that agitated career, with its sad disruption and rending asunder, as bearing melancholy evidence of that which some men call inevitable development, and some the judgment of heaven.

When the meetings of the Assembly were over, the devout company of worshippers who had offered up daily supplications on its behalf during that crisis, having come to take comfort in these early matins,

resolved to continue their meeting, and direct their prayers to interests more immediately their own. It was for the outpouring of the Spirit that they now resolved to ask; for the bestowal of those miraculous gifts of which news came without ceasing from Scotland —which were daily hoped for with gradually increasing intensity among themselves — and which, if once revealed, they did not doubt would be to the establishing of a mighty influence in the great city which surged and groaned around them, a perpetual battle-ground of human passion. For this they prayed in the early quiet of the summer mornings as May brightened into June. To this, the indignant excitement of the ecclesiastical crisis over, Irving turned with eyes which saw no help in man. During the interval, that other question had been gathering force and shape. Miraculous instances of healing were told, and discussed, and proved, and contested, in the London world, as they had been in the anxious local world of which Gairloch was the centre. From the padded couch of a cripple, where she had lain for years, Miss Fancourt had risen in a moment, at the bidding of an evangelist, still more marvellously than Mary Campbell had risen in Scotland. The religious papers were all busy with this strange, unbelievable occurrence, labouring hard to set to the score of excitement a wonder which they could not otherwise cast discredit upon; and the echo of the miraculous "Tongues," and singular prophetic utterances which came up on every wind from Scotland, had quickened a world of curiosity, and some faith of the most intense and eager kind. Among those who prayed every morning for the extension of this marvel to London,

and for the visible manifestation of God and his wonderful works among themselves, there was one at least so intent upon the petition he urged, and so sure that what he asked was in conformity with the will of God, that his anxious gaze almost had power to create upon the horizon the light he looked for. But still there was nothing unearthly or inhuman in the aspect of the man who thus stood between earth and heaven pleading, with a fervour that would not understand denial, for the inspiration promised to the last days. He forgot neither the rights of a man nor the duties of a brother in that solemn and overwhelming expectation. To a heart so high and a spirit so devout, miracle itself, indeed, was rather an unveiling of the ineffable glories always known and felt to be present where God's presence was felt and known, than a breach of the laws of nature, or a harsh though splendid discordance struck among the common chords of life. The heart within him was miraculously akin to all wonders and splendours. It was his cherished and joyful hope to see with human eyes his Master Himself descend to the visible millennial throne; and there was, to his sublimed vision, a certain magnificent probability in the flood of divine utterance and action for which he prayed and waited.

The first intimation of the actual appearance of the expected miraculous gifts is given simply and almost incidentally in a letter, addressed to Mr. Story, of Rosneath, dated in July of this year, in which, after exhorting his friend, who had been ill, to "have faith to be healed," Irving proceeds to speak of the ecclesiastical matters, in which both were so deeply interested, as follows:—

"I feel as if it were the duty of every minister of the Church of Scotland to open his pulpit to Campbell and Maclean, and take the consequences; and that the people should no longer hear those ministers who cast them out and the truth of God with them, until these ministers have returned to the preaching of the truth. For they have declared themselves Antichrist in denying that Christ came in the flesh; and they have denied both the Father and the Son. The Church naturally considered is one, but rightly considered is many, according to the number of her ministers; each Church standing or falling with its angel. Now these angels have all declared themselves enemies of Christ and His truth; and I say, therefore, it is the duty of the people to come out and be separate. I am sounding this matter to the bottom, and shall set it forth in regular order. Dear Story, you keep too much aloof from the good work of the Spirit which is proceeding beside you. Two of my flock have received the gift of tongues and prophecy. The Church here is to inquire into it. We had a conference of nearly twenty last Wednesday at Dodsworth's, and we are to have another next Wednesday. Draw not back, brother, but go forward. The kingdom of heaven is only to be won by the brave. Keep your conscience unfettered by your understanding."

It was in July this letter was written, but not until four months later did the new wonder manifest itself publicly. In the interval, notwithstanding his eagerness and strong prepossession in favour of these miraculous pretensions, Irving took the part of an investigator, and, according to his own conviction, examined closely and severely into the wonderful phenomena now presented before him. He explains the whole process with his usual lofty candour in his speech before the London Presbytery, a year later, in which he discloses, at the outset, the profound prepossession and bias in his believing mind, while he is evidently quite unconscious

how this could detract in the least from the conscientious severity of the probation to which he subjected the gifted persons. This is, however, so important an element in the matter, and one which throws so touching a light upon all the unthought-of extents to which his faith afterwards carried him—besides being, as he thought, an important particular in proof of the reality of the gifts themselves—that it is worthy of special notice. "I, as Christ's dutiful minister, standing in His room and responsible to Him (as are you all), *have not dared to believe that, when we asked bread, He gave us a stone, and when we asked fish, He gave us a serpent,*" he says, out of the simplicity of his devout heart, recognising only in this complicated matter—which involved so profound a maze of incomprehensible human motives, emotions, and purposes—the devout sincerity of prayer on the one hand, and the certain faithfulness of promise on the other. They had asked their faithful Master for these wonders of His grace; and when the wonders came, how could the loyal, lofty, unsuspicious soul, confident in the honour and truth of all men as in his own, dare to believe that God, when asked for bread, had given only a stone? But all unaware that by this very sentiment he prejudged the matter, Irving went on to make assurance sure by careful and deliberate investigation, which he accordingly describes as follows:—

"We met together about two weeks before the meeting of the General Assembly, in order to pray that the General Assembly might be guided in judgment by the Lord, the Head of the Church; and we added thereto prayers for the present low state of the Church. We cried unto the Lord for apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, anointed with the Holy Ghost, the gift of Jesus, because we

saw it written in God's Word that these are the appointed ordinances for the edifying of the body of Jesus. We continued in prayer every morning, morning by morning, at half-past six o'clock; and the Lord was not long in hearing and in answering our prayers. He sealed first one, and then another, and then another, and then another; and gave them first enlargement of spirit in their own devotions, when their souls were lifted up to God and they closed with him in nearness; He then lifted them up to pray in a tongue which the apostle Paul says he did more than they all. . . . I say as it was with Paul at the proper time, at the fit time, namely, in their private devotions, when they were rapt up nearest to God, the Spirit took them and made them speak in a tongue, sometimes singing in a tongue, sometimes speaking words in a tongue; and by degrees, according as they sought more and more unto God, this gift was perfected until they were moved to speak in a tongue, even in the presence of others. But while it was in this stage I suffered it not in the church, acting according to the canon of the apostle; and even in private, in my own presence, I permitted it not; but I heard that it had been done. I would not have rebuked it, I would have sympathised tenderly with the person who was carried in the Spirit and lifted up; but in the church I would not have permitted it. Then, in process of time, perhaps at the end of a fortnight, the gift perfected itself, so that they were made to speak in a tongue and to prophesy; that is, to set forth in English words for exhortation, for edification, and comfort, for that is the proper definition of prophesying, as was testified by one of the witnesses. Now, when we had received this into the church in answer to our prayers, it became me, as the minister of the church, to try that which we had received. I say it became me, and not another, as minister of the church; and my authority for that you will find in the 2nd chapter of Revelations. . . . Therefore, when the Lord had sent me what professed to be prophets, what we had prayed for, what the Lord had answered, what had the apparent signs of a prophet speaking with tongues and prophesying and magnifying God,—I then addressed myself to the task, I durst not shrink from it, of trying them, putting them to proof; and if I found them so,

permitting them; yea, giving thanks to Jesus that had heard our prayers, and sent among us that ordinance of prophesying which is said expressly to be for the edifying of the Church.

"The first thing towards the trial was to hear them prophesy before myself; and so I did. The Lord, in His providence (I cannot remember the particulars, nor do I charge my memory with them), the Lord, in His providence, gave me ample opportunities in private prayer-meetings (of which there were many in the congregation for this purpose established) of hearing the speaking with tongues and prophesying; and it was so ordered by Providence that every person whom I heard was known to myself, so that I had the double test,—first, of private walk and conversation, and secondly, of hearing the things prophesied. . . . I had, then, first, the blameless walk and conversation of persons in full communion with the Church of Christ; and I had, next, privately hearing the utterances, in which I could detect nothing that was contrary to sound doctrine, but saw everything to be for edification, exhortation, and comfort; and beyond these there are no outward or visible signs to which it can be brought.

"Having these before me, I was still very much afraid of introducing it to the church, and it burdened my conscience I should suppose for some weeks. For look you at the condition in which I was placed. I had sat at the head of the Church praying that these gifts might be poured out in the church; I believed in the Lord's faithfulness, that I was praying the prayer of faith, and that he had poured out the gifts on the Church in answer to our prayers. Was I to disbelieve that which in faith I had been praying for, and which we had all been praying for? When it comes, He gives me every opportunity of proving it. I put it to the proof, according to His own Word; and I find, so far as I am able to discern honestly before God, that it is the thing written of in the Scriptures, and unto the faith of which we were baptized."

Such was the process going on in the mind of Irving during this interesting and exciting period. Convinced, before he began to examine, that he and his fellow-worshippers had asked in faith, and that this was the

visible and speedy answer to their prayers, it is evident that his investigations were necessary only to satisfy his conscience, and not to convince his heart. With the most undoubting confidence he had asked for bread; and the agreement of more than two or three in that petition had made God Himself responsible for the fulfilment of His own promise to the eyes and to the heart of his believing servant. With all-trusting humility, yet with a lofty confidence, at once in his own perfect sincerity and in the accordance of his request with the revealed mind of God, Irving dared not believe that it was a stone which his heavenly Father had given him in answer to his prayers. In this certainty he went forward, seeing no choice for himself; not disguising either from his own eyes or those of others the anguish of separation and estrangement, the broken peace, the desertion, all the sorrows to which this course must expose him. But he had no alternative. He had asked, and God had bestowed. If it may be possible that, in his secret heart, Irving sometimes wondered over the meagreness of those revelations, the heroic faith within him bent his head before the word of God. He explained, with a wonderful acceptance of the conditions under which the revelation came, that it was with "stammering lips and another tongue" that God was to speak to this people. He took his stand at once upon this simple foundation of faith. He and his friends had asked with fervid importunity, putting their Master to His word. They had agreed together concerning this thing, according to God's own divine directions. Irving had no eyes to see the overpowering force of suggestion with which such prayers

might have operated upon sensitive and excitable hearts. His regards were fixed upon God, faithful and unchanged, who had promised to grant requests which His people presented thus. And to a nature so loyal, so simple, so absolute in primitive faith and dependence, there was no alternative. What he received in answer to his prayers was by that very evidence proved to be divine.

Reasoning thus, he proceeded, as he has described, to "try the spirits." The gifted persons were all known to himself: they were, to the acknowledgment of all, both believers and unbelievers, individuals of blameless life and saintly character. Among them were men who, since then, have preserved the confidence and respect of their community for an entire lifetime; and gentle and pious women, against whom it does not appear that even accusations of vanity or self-importance could be brought. Always with that prepossession in his mind, that these gifts were directly sent in answer to prayer; always with that trust in everybody round him which was his nature, and that unconscious *glamour* in his eyes, that elevated everything they lighted on, Irving went on to examine, and try and prove the new marvel. His was not a mind, judicial, impartial, able to confine itself to mere evidence: had it even been so, the result might still have been the same, since the evidence which was of overwhelming force with him, was of a kind totally beyond the range of ordinary human testimony. Of all men in the world, perhaps this man, with his inalienable poetic privilege of conferring dignity and grandeur upon everything which interested him deeply; with his perfect trust in

other men, and tender sympathy with all genuine emotion, was least qualified to institute the searching and severe investigation which the case demanded; and when it is remembered how forlorn he stood—in the Church, but scarcely of it; deprived of the support for which his spirit longed; his heart aching with pangs of disappointment and indignation to see that which he held for the divinest of truths everywhere denied and rejected—the disabilities of nature grow strong with every additional touch of circumstance. I cannot pretend to believe that he was capable of taking the calm position of a judge at this deeply important crisis: but I do not doubt for a moment that he entirely believed in his own impartiality, and made, notwithstanding his prepossession, the most conscientious balance of fact and argument; and it is evident that he proceeded with a care and caution scarcely to be expected from him. For weeks he hesitated to suffer the utterances in his Church, even in the morning meetings, where the audience were those who had joined with him in supplication for this very gift. Writing to one of his relations who had lost her husband, in this anxious interval, he turns from the strain of consolation and counsel (in which he specially directs the mind of the widow to the speedy coming of the Lord as the sum of all comfort), to notice, simply and briefly, ere he concludes, that "the Lord prospers His work greatly in my church. Several of the brethren have received the gift of tongues and prophecy; and in answer to prayer, the sick are healed and raised up again. The coming of the Lord is near at hand." But it is not till the end of October that he bursts forth into the follow-

ing triumphant thanksgiving, conveyed in a letter—or rather in what seems to have been the outer inclosure of a letter, doubtless from his wife or her sister to the anxious household at home — to Dr. Martin :—

"26th October, 1831.

"My dear Father,—Thanks should be returned in all the churches for the work which the Lord has done and is doing amongst us. He has raised up the order of prophets amongst us, who, being filled with the Holy Ghost, do speak with tongues and prophesy. I have no doubt of this; and I believe that if the ministers of the Church will be faithful to preach the truth, as the Lord hath enabled me to be, God will seal it in like manner with the baptism of the Holy Ghost. 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?' is a question which may be put to every Church in Christendom; and for every Church may be answered as the Ephesians answered Paul, Acts xix. I desire you to rejoice exceedingly, although it may be the means, if God prevent not, of creating great confusion in the bosom of my dear flock. For as prophesying is for the edifying of the Church, the Holy Ghost will require that His voice shall be heard when 'the brethren are come together into one place;' and this, I fear, will not be endured by many. But the Lord's will be done. I must forsake all for Him. I live by faith daily, for I daily look for His appearing. . . . Farewell!

"Your dutiful and affectionate son,

"Edwd. Irving."

This affecting and solemn, yet exultant statement, proves how truly Irving foresaw all that was before him. Up to this time, all external assaults had been softened to him by the warm and close circle of friends who stood up around to assure him of constant sympathy and unfailing support. The unanimous and spontaneous declaration by which his Session expressed their perfect concurrence in his views, which he had

published with affectionate pride in the *Morning Watch*, and of which he declares that he "had no hand whatever in originating, nor yet in penning this document, which came forth spontaneously from the hearts and minds of those honest and honourable men whose names it bears," is dated only in December of the previous year. He describes his supporters in March, 1831, as "those who have, with one only exception, been with me from the beginning; who for many years have, publicly and privately, had every opportunity of knowing my doctrine thoroughly." They were all dear to him for many a good work done together, and sorrowful hour shared side by side: some of them were his "spiritual sons;" some his close and dear companions. He foresaw, looking steadfastly forward into that gloom which he was about to enter, that now, at last, this bond of loyal love was to be broken, this last guard dispersed from about his heart. He saw it with anguish and prophetic desolation, his last link to the old world of hereditary faith and dutiful affection. But though his heart broke, he could not choose. The warning and reproving voices which interrupted his prayers and exhortations in private meetings, had by this time risen to their full mastery over the heart which, entirely believing that they came from God, had no choice left but to obey them. These prophets told him, in mournful outbursts, that he was restraining the Spirit of God. It was a reproach not to be borne by one who held his God in such true, filial, personal love as few can realise, much less experience. Touched by the thought of that terrible possibility, he removed the first barriers.

"Next morning," he says, "I went to the church, and after praying, I rose up and said in the midst of them all, 'I cannot be a party in hindering that which I believe to be the voice of the Holy Ghost from being heard in the church. I feel that I have too long deferred, and I now pray you to give audience while I read out of the Scriptures, as my authority, the commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ concerning the prophets. I then read these passages, 1 Cor. xiv. 23. . . . Therefore, reading these two passages in the hearing of the people, I said, 'Now I stand here before you (it was at our morning meeting, and after my conscience had been burdened with it for some weeks), and I cannot longer forbid, but do, on the other hand, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the Church, permit, at this meeting of the Church, that every one who has received the gift of the Holy Ghost, and is moved by the Holy Ghost, shall have liberty to speak,' and I pointed to those whom I had heard in private. It pleased the Lord, at that very meeting, to sanction it by His approval. . . . Now, observe, I took to myself, according to the commandment of Jesus, the privilege and responsibility of trying the prophets in private, before permitting them to speak in the Church. I then gave the Church an opportunity of fulfilling its duty; for beyond question, it belongeth to every man to try the spirits; it belongeth not to the pastor alone, it belongeth to every man to do it. . . . It was my duty, therefore, in obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, who ruleth over all Churches, and without which a Church is nothing but a synagogue of Satan; it belonged to me, as the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, having tried them, to put them forth to the people, that they might be tried by them. I put them forth at the morning exercise of the Church; and I did, from the pulpit, make known to the people, in prayer and in preaching, and in all ways, and invited the people to come and to witness for themselves."

This process of "probation," as the preacher, with solemn stateliness, names the second interval, lasted for several weeks. It is not difficult to imagine what during this time must have been the state of the agitated con-

gregation, in which, already, all the dreaded symptoms of resistance and separation were becoming visible. Aware, as entire London was shortly aware, of those extraordinary manifestations, the sober Scotch remnant looked on severely, with suspicion and fear; anxious, above all things, to escape the probation thus placed in their power, and to ignore, as far as possible, the existence of the new influence which they felt they could see and hear only to condemn. Still steady and faithful adherents of Irving, and numbering among them all the oldest and most influential members of the congregation, they were prepared, for love of their leader, to wink at almost anything which was not authoritatively set before their eyes, and with troubled hearts, as men hear news from an enemy's camp in which are some of their dearest friends, they listened anxiously to the reports of what was done and said at those romantic matin services, in the mornings which began again to darken into autumn. The air was rife with tales of prophecy and miracle. The very newspapers were discussing those wonders, which could not be contradicted, however they might be accounted for. And the vaguer excitement outside rose into a climax within that church in Regent Square, where now, Sunday after Sunday, the preacher invited his alarmed or curious hearers to satisfy themselves, to prove the gifts, to make sure, each on his own account, what the new revelation was; and where, morning after morning, in the chill daybreak, these astonishing voices and strange bursts of utterance found expression. A shudder of expectation, a rising stir of alarm, of indignation, of resistance — mingled with

remorseful love towards the devoted man who thus risked his last human stronghold at the bidding of what he supposed to be the voice of God, and perhaps with a suspicious jealousy of those "gifted persons" who were almost without exception new comers, attracted to the National Scotch Church neither for its nationality nor its Presbyterianism, but simply for Irving's sake — ran trembling through the little community. It was clear to the dullest eye that matters could not stand still where they were. They waited, perplexed, disapproving, and afraid, for what was next to come; shaken in their allegiance, if never in their affection.

Early in November (there is some confusion about the exact date), matters came to a crisis.

"I went to church," writes a Mr. Pilkington* — who, for a short time, professed to be gifted in his own person, and afterwards changed his opinion, and did what he could to "expose" the mysteries in which he had not been able to take a part — "and was, as usual, much gratified and comforted by Mr. Irving's lectures and prayers; but I was very unexpectedly interrupted by the well-known voice of one of the sisters, who, finding she was unable to restrain herself, and respecting the regulation of the Church, rushed into the

* The statements of this gentleman, and another still more important deserter from the prophetical ranks, Mr. Baxter of Doncaster, are extremely interesting—that of the latter, in particular, called a *Narrative of Facts*, and intended to prove that the whole matter was a delusion, is in reality by far the strongest evidence in favour of the truth and genuine character of these spiritual manifestations which I have met with. After reading such a narrative, it is impossible to dream of trickery, and very difficult to believe in mere delusion; although the sole object of the writer, in the extraordinary and touching tale, is to show that he had deceived himself, and was no prophet.

vestry, and gave vent to utterance; whilst another, as I understood, from the same impulse, ran down the side aisle, and out of the church, through the principal door. The sudden, doleful, and unintelligible sounds, being heard by all the congregation, produced the utmost confusion; the act of standing up, the exertion to hear, see, and understand, by each and every one of perhaps 1500 or 2000 persons, created a noise which may be easily conceived. Mr. Irving begged for attention, and when order was restored, he explained the occurrence, which he said was not new, except in the congregation, where he had been for some time considering the propriety of introducing it; but though satisfied of the correctness of such a measure, he was afraid of dispersing the flock; nevertheless, as it was now brought forward by God's will, he felt in his duty to submit. He then said he would change the discourse intended for the day, and expound the 14th chapter of Corinthians, in order to elucidate what had just happened. The sister was now returning from the vestry to her seat, and Mr. Irving, observing her from the pulpit, said, in an affectionate tone, 'Console yourself, sister! console yourself!' He then proceeded with his discourse."

The matter was thus taken out of Irving's hand, by an occurrence which was to him a visible sign of the will and pleasure of God, to be restrained by him at his peril. The scene is striking and extraordinary enough to be worthy of its antecedents and consequences. While he preached in his lofty, miraculous strain, with that elevation of mind and thought which was something more than eloquence, to the agitated, expectant crowd, which knew, by mysterious half-information and confused rumours that something mystic and supernatural was daily evidencing itself in the more private services of this very church, the heart of one of those ecstatic women burned within her. The preacher himself was now at all times in a

state of solemn and devout expectation, straining his ear to hear what messages God might send through the silence. The audience trembled throughout, with a vaguer anticipation, compounded of curiosity and alarm, and perhaps all the more exciting in proportion to its ignorance of what it expected. Through this assembly, so wonderfully prepared to thrill to the sudden touch which for weeks past it had apprehended, the "sister" rushed, labouring with her message, afraid to disturb the severe laws of the place, yet unable to restrain the mysterious impulse with which her bosom swelled. The "tongue" burst from her lips as she disappeared into the shelter of the vestry, echoing, audible and awful, through the pause of wonder. A second sister is said, by another account, to have hastened after the first, and to have added to the distant "testimony" which rang forth over the listening congregation in a force and fulness of sound, of which the delicate female organs which produced it were naturally incapable. Irving paused in his preaching when this strange interruption occurred. He had been in the midst of one of those discourses which were still ranked among the wonders of the time. He paused when the faltering, hasty steps of the retiring prophetess awoke the silence of the congregation. He stood listening, like the rest, to the half-distinguishable message. When it was over, and he had calmed the crowd, he neither attempted to resume his own course of thought, nor dismissed the agitated assembly. He turned to the passage which he had already quoted as conclusive, containing the rules by which St. Paul ordered the exercise, in the primitive Church, of miraculous utterances. He ex-

plained, in his candour and simplicity, his own reluctance to admit into his long-united and brotherly band this new influence, which he foresaw would turn harmony into chaos; but God having himself taken the matter in hand, without waiting for the tardy sanction of His servant, here was the Divine directory by which he must henceforth be guided. Accordingly he read and expounded St. Paul's instructions to the prophets and gifted persons of Corinth. It was all that he could see remaining for him to do. Henceforward the die was cast. He foresaw, in his sorrowful heart, all the desertion and desolation that was coming; he saw faces turned away from him, in which he had hitherto seen only love and confidence; and lowering looks, where he had been used to the utmost trust and affection. But to bear these, or any other martyrdoms, was easier than to restrain for a moment longer that voice which to him was the voice of God.

After this, the congregation separated, full of excitement, as was natural. And the one notable figure which appears in the midst of that confused and agitated assembly, withdrew to domestic quiet, to prayer or visitation of the sick, according to the previously recorded habits of his simple and spotless life. While the November day darkened over him in those prayers and meditations through which thrilled hopes of immediate communication with heaven almost too much for the human heart, which, all aflame with love and genius as it was, was not the heart of an ecstatic, the rumour of this new thing ran through the wondering world around him. In the evening an excited and almost riotous crowd rushed into the church, where such

an astonishing novelty and sensation was in their power. The tumultuous scene which followed is thus described by Mrs. Hamilton: —

"In the evening there was a tremendous crowd. The galleries were fearfully full; and from the commencement of the service there was an evident uproariousness, considering the place, about the doors, men's voices continually mingling with the singing and the praying in most indecent confusion. Mr. Irving had nearly finished his discourse, when another of the ladies spoke. The people heard for a few minutes with quietness comparatively. But on a sudden, a number of the fellows in the gallery began to hiss, and then some cried 'Silence!' and some one thing, and some another, until the congregation, except such as had firm faith in God, were in a state of extreme commotion. Some of these fellows (who, from putting all the circumstances together, it afterwards appeared were a gang of pickpockets come to make a *row*) shut the gallery doors, which I think was providential—for had any one rushed and fallen, many lives might have been lost, the crowd was so great. The awful scene of Kirkcaldy church * was before my eyes, and I dare say before Mr. Irving's. He immediately rose and said, 'Let us pray,' which he did, using chiefly the words, 'Oh, Lord, still the tumult of the people,' over and over again in an unfaltering voice. This kept those in the pews in peace, none attempted to move, and certainly the Lord did still the people. We then sang, and before pronouncing the blessing, Mr. Irving intimated that henceforward there would be morning service on the Sunday, when those persons would exercise their gifts, for that he would not subject the congregation to a repetition of the scene they had witnessed. He said he had been afraid of life, and that which was so precious he would not again risk, and more to a like effect. A party still attempted to keep possession of the church. One man close to me at-

* The falling of the gallery there in consequence of the extreme crowd to hear Irving in June, 1828.

tempted to speak. Some called, 'Hear! hear!' others, 'Down! down!' The whole scene reminded one of Paul at Ephesus. It was very difficult to get the people to go; but by God's blessing it was accomplished. The Lord be praised! We were in peril, great peril. But not a hair of the head of any one suffered."

The following version of the same occurrence, describing it from an outside, and entirely different point of view, appears in the *Times* of the 19th November, extracted from the *World*. It is headed "Disturbance at the National Scotch Church," and is curious as showing the state of contemporary feeling out of doors: —

"On Sunday, the Rev. Edward Irving delivered two sermons on the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, on each of which occasions the congregation was disturbed by individuals pretending to the miraculous gift of tongues. During the sermon in the morning, a lady (a Miss Hall) thus singularly endowed was compelled to retire into the vestry, where she was unable, as she herself says, to restrain herself, and spoke for some time in the unknown tongue to the great surprise of the congregation, who did not seem prepared for the exhibition. The reverend gentleman resumed the subject in the evening, by discoursing from, or rather expounding the 12th Chapter of 1 Corinthians. Towards the conclusion of the exposition, he took occasion to allude to the circumstance of the morning, and expressed his doubts whether he had done right in restraining the exercise of the gift in the church itself, and compelling the lady to retire to the vestry. At this moment, a gentleman in the gallery, a Mr. Taplin, who keeps an academy in Castle Street, Holborn, rose from his seat, and commenced a violent harangue in the unknown tongue. The confusion occasioned was extreme. The whole congregation rose from their seats in affright, several ladies screamed aloud, and others rushed to the doors. Some supposed that the building was in danger, and that there had either been a

murder or an attempt to murder some person in the gallery; insomuch, that one gentleman actually called out to the pew-openers and beadle to stop him, and not to let him escape. On both occasions the church was extremely crowded, particularly in the evening, and it would be impossible to describe the confusion produced by this display of fanaticism. There was, indeed, in the strange, unearthly sound and extraordinary power of voice, enough to appal the heart of the most stout-hearted. A great part of the congregation standing upon the seats to ascertain the cause of the alarm, while the reverend gentleman, standing with arms extended, and occasionally beckoning them to silence, formed a scene which partook as much of the ridiculous as the sublime. No attempt was made to stop the individual, and after two or three minutes he became exhausted, and sat down, and then the reverend gentleman concluded the service. Many were so alarmed, and others so disgusted, that they did not return again into the church, and discussed the propriety of the reverend gentleman suffering the exhibition; and altogether a sensation was produced which will not be soon forgotten by those who were present."

In a letter to Mr. Macdonald, Irving himself gives an account of a very similar scene. There is, however, great confusion of dates; some of the witnesses identify the decisive day as the 16th, some as the 30th of October, while Mrs. Hamilton's letter fixes it as the 13th of November. The precise day, however, is unimportant; many such scenes of agitation and tumult must have disturbed the church. In the general features of the prevailing excitement all the accounts concur. Irving's own record is as follows:—

"London, 7th November, 1831.

"My dear Friend,—May the Lord keep you in a continual nearness to Him, going forward and not going backward. For it is a sore and a sifting time wherein there is no safety,

but will be destruction to every one who is not abiding in Christ and in Him only. Yesterday was our communion, and the Lord gave me great increase to my church, nearly a hundred during the half year; but some have drawn back, offended in the word of the Spirit in the mouth of the prophets, which, in obedience to the Lord's commandment, I have permitted, 'when the Church is gathered together into one place,' on all occasions. Now, it is remarked that in all instances the Spirit hath permitted the service to be concluded, and the blessing pronounced, before the manifestation. And it hath always been a witness of the Holy Ghost with us, the ministers. Last night David Brown preached a mighty sermon on the 91st Psalm, bearing much allusion to the cholera; and twice over did the Spirit speak forth, once in confirmation, generally, that it was the judgment of God, once, in particular, to the scoffers. I was seated in the great chair, and was enabled by my single voice to preserve order among, I dare say, 3000 people, and to exhort them, as Peter did at Pentecost, and commend them to the Lord. And they all parted in peace. Most of the Session dislike all this; and had I not been firm and resolved to go out myself sooner, the voice of the Holy Ghost would, ere this, have been put down by one means or another. In two instances the Spirit hath confirmed the Word when I was expounding the Scriptures. Our morning worship is attended by nearly 1000 persons, and the order of it is beautiful. I seek the blessing of God, then we sing. Mr. Brown or I read a chapter, and the Spirit confirms our interpretations, or adds and exhorts in few words, without interruption, but with great strengthening; then one of us, or the elders, or the brethren prays, and then I fulfil the part of the pastor or angel of the church with short instructions, waiting at the intervals for the Spirit to speak, which He does sometimes by one, sometimes by two, and sometimes by three,—which I apply, and break down, and make the best use of for edifying of the flock and convincing the gainsayers; with short prayers as occasion serveth; and I conclude with prayer, and with the doxology, and the blessing. Every Wednesday night I am preaching to thousands 'the Baptism with the Holy Ghost,' and the Lord is

mightily with us. But many adversaries. Oh, pray diligently that Satan may not be able to put this light out! . . . Farewell! May the Lord have you in His holy keeping!

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"EDWD. IRVING.

"The Cairds are now with us again."

The singular fact herein recorded of an attendance of a thousand people at the morning service, is perhaps almost as wonderful as any other particular of this exciting time. A concourse of a thousand people, drawn together at half-past six, in those black, wintry mornings, with the November fogs rolling up from the unseen river and murky heart of the city—and day but faintly breaking through the yellow, suffocating vapours when the assembly dispersed—is a prodigy such as perhaps London never saw before, nor is likely to see again. "The Cairds" mentioned in the postscript of this letter were Mary Campbell, the earliest gifted and miraculously healed, and her husband, now apparently wandering from house to house, and church to church, to enlighten the minds or satisfy the curiosity, as the case might be, of those who were chiefly interested in the new dispensation.

This irrevocable step having been taken into the new world—confused, gloomy, and tumultuous, yet radiated with momentary and oft-recurring lights, almost too brilliant and rapturous for the health and reason of a wholesome human creature—which now lay before Irving, it is perhaps necessary to describe, so far as that is practicable, to a generation which has forgotten them, what those unknown tongues were which disturbed the composure of the world thirty years ago. The newspaper

report quoted above would lead the reader to imagine that the unknown tongue alone was the sum of the utterances given on the occasion referred to in the National Scotch Church. This, however, is proved not to have been the case, by Irving's own declaration that so long as the tongue was unaccompanied by intelligible speech, he "suffered it not in the Church, acting according to the canon of the Apostle; and even in private, in my own presence, I permitted it not." The actual utterances, as they were thus introduced in the full congregation, were short exhortations, warnings, or commands, in English, preceded by some sentences or exclamations in the *tongue*, which was not the primary message, being unintelligible, but only the sign of inspiration—so that a "violent harangue in the tongue" was an untrue and ridiculous statement. The tongue itself was supposed by Mary Campbell, who was the first to exercise it, and apparently by all who believed in the reality of the gift at that time, to be in truth a language which, under similar circumstances to those which proved at once the miraculous use of the tongues given at Pentecost, would have been similarly recognised. Mary Campbell herself expressed her conviction that the tongue given to her was that of the Pelew Islands, which, indeed, was a safe statement, and little likely to be authoritatively disputed; while some other conjectures pointed to the Turkish and Chinese languages as those thus miraculously bestowed. Since then opinion seems to have changed, even among devout believers in these wonderful phenomena; the hypothesis of actual languages conferred seems to have given way to that of a supernatural sign and attestation of the intelligible prophecy,

which, indeed, the Pentecostal experience apart, might very well be argued from St. Paul's remarks upon this primitive gift. The character of the sound itself has perhaps received as many different descriptions as there are persons who have heard it. To some, the ecstatic exclamations, with their rolling syllables and mighty voice, were imposing and awful; to others it was merely gibberish shouted from stentorian lungs; to others an uneasy wonder, which it was a relief to find passing into English, even though the height and strain of sound was undiminished. One witness speaks of it as "bursting forth," and that from the lips of a woman, "with an astonishing and terrible crash;" another (Mr. Baxter), in his singular narrative, describes how, when "the power" fell suddenly upon himself, then all alone at his devotions, "the utterance was so loud that I put my handkerchief to my mouth to stop the sound, that I might not alarm the house;" while Irving himself describes it with all his usual splendour of diction as follows:—

"The whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power, and strength, and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from that of the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march, and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic

and divine utterance which I have ever heard, some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and art exhibited at the oratorios in the concerts of ancient music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service, insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or a shorter period, sometimes occupying only a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deeply-felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker is manifestly much moved to tears, and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy, and mirth and exultation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly-formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, which evidently wanteth *only the ear of him, whose native tongue it is,* to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech."

This lofty representation, if too elevated to express the popular opinion, is yet confirmed by the mass of testimony which represents the *Tongue* as something awful and impressive. The utterances in English are within the range of a less elevated faith, being at least comprehensible, and open to the test of internal evidence. I quote several of these manifestations in the after part of this history, for the satisfaction of my readers. To my own mind they contain no evidence of supernatural, and specially of divine origin. That the effect of their passionate cadences and wild rapture of prophetical repetition may have been overwhelming, I

do not doubt; and most of the speakers seem to have been entirely above suspicion; but the thought that "there needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us *this*," much less a new and special revelation from heaven, will recur infallibly in face of these utterances. I can neither explain nor account for phenomena so extraordinary; and, fortunately, am not called upon to do either. The fact and fashion of their existence, and the wonderful influence they exercised over the subject of this history, are all I have to do with. The reader will find in the remarkable narrative, intended by Mr. Baxter* to dissipate the delusion, more subtle and striking evidences of a real *something* in the movement than is given either by the recorded utterances themselves, or any plea for them that I have heard of. And at the same time it is certain that Irving faithfully followed them through every kind of anguish and martyrdom; that by their sole inspiration a body, not inconsiderable either in numbers or influence, has been organised and established in being; and that after a lapse of thirty years, they still continue to regulate the destinies of that oft-disappointed but patient Church.

In that autumnal season of '31, in itself a time of trouble and perplexity, of political agitation at home and apprehensions abroad, and when the modern plague, cholera, doubly dreaded because unknown, yet not more dreaded than, as the event proved, it deserved to be, trembled over the popular mind and imagination, filling them with all the varieties of real and fanciful

* See Appendix B.

terror, the newspapers still found time to enter into this newest wonder. With natural zest they seized again upon the well-known name, so often discussed, which was now placed in a position to call forth any amount of criticism and ridicule. Very shortly after the introduction of the "prophesying" into the Sunday meetings of the church in Regent Square, the *Times* put forth very intelligible hints that the church, though built for the Rev. Edward Irving, was only his so long as he conformed himself to the laws of the Church of Scotland; showing an interest in the cause of orthodoxy, and Scotch orthodoxy to boot, somewhat rare with that cosmopolitan journal. "The great body of Mr. Irving's adherents would probably have remained by him if, in his headlong course of enthusiasm, he could have found a resting-place. They might pardon his nonsense about the time and circumstances of the millennium. They might smile at unintelligible disquisitions about 'heads' and 'horns,' and 'trumpets,' and 'candlesticks,' and 'white and black horses,' in Revelations. These things might offend the judgment, but did not affect the nerves. But have we the same excuse for the recent exhibitions with which the metropolis has been scandalised?" says the virtuous *Times*. "Are we to listen to the screaming of hysterical women, and the ravings of frantic men? Is bawling to be added to absurdity, and the disturber of a congregation to escape the police and treadmill, because the person who occupies the pulpit vouches for his inspiration?" Much virtuous indignation, indeed, was expended on all sides on this fertile and inviting subject. The *Record* takes up the story where the *Times* leaves it, and narrates the drama of the second

Sunday. Never was congregation of Scotch Presbyterians, lost in the mass of a vast community, which never more than half comprehends, and is seldom more than half respectful of Presbyterianism, so followed by the observation of the world, so watched and noted. In the mean time, the mystic world within concentrated more and more around the only man who was to bear the brunt, he whom the outside world accused of endless vagaries, whom his very friends declared to be seeking notoriety at any cost, and from whose side already the companions of his life were dropping off in sad but inevitable estrangement; yet who stood in that mystic circle, in the depths of his noble simplicity and humbleness, the one pre-destined martyr, who was to die for the reality of gifts which he did not share. With criticisms and censures of every kind going on around, he proceeded, rapt in the fervour of his faith, deeper and deeper into the spiritual mystery which he believed and hoped was now to dawn splendidly upon the unbelieving world, awakening everywhere, amid material darkness, that sacred sense of the unseen and the Divine which had always existed in his own lofty spirit, and over the failure and lack of which he had sighed so deeply and so long in vain. A few weeks later he wrote as follows to Mr. Macdonald: —

"19th November.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—The Lord still stands with us, and confirms me more and more in the duty of encouraging this work at all hazards, leaving myself in His hand. Both at Liverpool and near Baldock, in Herts, in the parish of Mr. Pym, there have been manifestations. The work at Glou-

cester, we have reason to believe, is a possession of Satan. One child who received the Spirit there, and after her, her twin brother, son and daughter (about eight years old, twins) of a clergyman, a particular friend of mine, both spake with tongues and prophesied. The Spirit betrayed himself, would not take the test (1 John iv. 1 — 3), forbad to marry, and played many more antics, and was at last expelled. It was a true possession of Satan, preached a wondrously sweet Gospel, had a desire to be consulted about everything, disliked prayer, praise, and reading the Scriptures, and otherwise wrought wondrously. Blessed be God, who has delivered the dear children! When I read these letters from Mr. P——, the children's father, to the gifted persons here, the Spirit in them cried aloud to be tried; and I did put the test, whereupon there was from one and all (Mrs. Caird also, who was present) the most glorious testimony that I ever heard. Many were present, and we were all constrained to sing songs of deliverance. You should try the Spirit both in Miss C—— and in M——; they ought to desire it, and you should cleave to the very words of the test, and make the Spirit answer directly in these words. Also observe him closely, for it is amazing how subtle they are (1 Tim. iv. 1 — 4). . . . May God bless you and your wife!

"Your faithful friend,

"Edwd. Irving."

The current, when it had once broken forth, was much too strong to be checked. The tumult and commotion of the evening service described by Mrs. Hamilton, had drawn from Irving's lips a hasty undertaking, not to expose his congregation again to the danger and profanation of such scenes. Before the next Sunday, however, he had risen above such considerations. Daily stimulated, warned, and reproved by the prophets who surrounded him, he gradually gave up his lingering tenderness of reluctance to disperse his people, and even sacrificed his devout regard (always so strong in him

— the reverence more of a High Anglican than an iconoclastic Presbyterian) for the sanctities of the house of God. Indeed, believing fervently, as he did, that these utterances were the voice of God, one does not see how he could have done otherwise. The *Record* relates, on the 21st November, its great surprise to hear that after "the positive declaration of the Rev. Edward Irving to his church and congregation, on the 13th instant, that he should forbid for the future the exercise of the unknown tongues during the usual Sabbath services; Mr. Irving stated yesterday morning that he committed an error by so doing. He stated that if it pleased the Lord to speak by His messengers, he begged them to listen with devout attention. In a few seconds a female (we believe Miss Cardale) commenced in the unknown tongue, and then passed into the known tongue. She said: 'He shall reveal it! He shall reveal it! Yea, heed it! yea, heed it! Ye are yet in the wilderness. Despise not his word! despise not his word! Not one jot or tittle shall pass away.' The minister then rose and called upon the church to bless the Lord for His voice, which they had just heard in the midst of the congregation."

Notwithstanding the surprise of the *Record*, it is very apparent that, having entered upon this course, it was simply impossible to pause or draw back. Had any dishonesty or timidity existed in Irving's breast, he might, indeed, as men of irresolute tempers or uncertain belief will, have so far smothered his own convictions as to refuse his consent to the prophetic utterances. But with that entire faith he had: what was the servant of God to do? It was not denying a privilege even to the "gifted

persons." It was silencing the voice of God. Yet even those who knew him best vexed his troubled soul with entreaties that he would put up again this impossible barrier, and debar, according to his own belief, the Holy Spirit, the great Teacher, from utterance in the church. While the newspapers without denounced the "exhibitions," and wondered how he could permit them, tender domestic appeals were at the same time being made to him, to pause upon that road which evidently led to temporal loss and overthrow, and must make a cruel separation between his future and his past. The judicious William Hamilton, his brother and friend, and perpetual referee, retires with a grieved heart into the country; and, consulting privately with Dr. Martin, describes his own uncertainty and desire to wait longer before either permitting or debarring the new utterances; his conviction that all the speakers are "very holy and exemplary persons;" the general anxiety and desire of the congregation to "wait patiently and see more distinctly the hand of God in the matter;" and at the same time the inclination of "some of the trustees to enforce the discipline of the Church of Scotland, according to the provisions of the trust-deed." "Mr. Irving is fully persuaded, and hesitates not to declare that it is the Holy Ghost speaking in the members of Christ, as on the day of Pentecost," writes this anxious and loving friend. "Edward is most conscientious and sincere in the matter; and he is so thoroughly convinced in his own mind that it is impossible to make an impression upon him, or to induce that caution which the circumstances seem so imperatively to demand." When fortified with the advice and arguments of Dr. Martin,

who was under no such trembling anxiety as that which influenced his son-in-law, Mr. Hamilton proceeds to reason with his "dear brother and pastor" in a sensible and affectionate letter, dated from Tunbridge Wells, the 26th of November, but is anticipated by a letter from Irving, in which already appears the first cloud of that coming storm which his kind and anxious relative was so desirous to arrest:—

"London, 21st November, 1831.

"MY DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,—I pray that the Lord may preserve you in His truth and keep you from all backsliding, for he that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back is not fit for the kingdom of heaven. Draw not back, neither stand still, I beseech you, for your souls' salvation. Remember the exhortations of the Lord and His apostles to this effect: save your own souls, I beseech you. The trustees met, and I explained to them that I could not in this matter take any half measures, but would be faithful to God and His Word, and would immediately proceed to set the ordinance of prophesying in order, in the meetings of the church; and because I see prophesying with tongues is as much for the assembling and snaring of the hypocrite (Is. xxviii. 13, 14) as for the refreshing of the saints, I was resolved that whatever class of people might come to the church at any meeting, I would not prevent the Lord from speaking then and there what it pleased Him to speak, and I pointed their attention to that part of the trust-deed which gave into my hand the regulation of everything connected with the public worship of God in the house over which they were the trustees. And after a good deal of conversation, conducted in a very friendly, and, I hope, Christian spirit, I came away and left them to deliberate. They adjourned the meeting till Tuesday night, when I do not intend to be present; but through Mr. Virtue have intimated that if they should think of taking any step, they would previously appoint a conference with me, and one or two who think with

me, that if possible we might adjust the matter without a litigation; and if it be necessary, that it may be gone into with a simple desire of ascertaining the question whether, in anything I have done, I have violated the trust-deed. Perhaps I may write this by letter to them; I shall think of it.

"Yesterday we had peace and much edification. I began by reading passages in 1 Cor. xiv., and then ordering it so, that after the chapter and the sermon there should be a pause to hear whether the Holy Spirit was minded to speak to us. He spake by Miss E. Cardale after the chapter (John xvi.), exhorting us to ask, for we were still in the wilderness, and needed the waters of the Holy Spirit, identifying the river from the rock with the Holy Ghost. It was very solemn, and all was still attention. While singing the Psalm after, Mr. Horn came up to the pulpit with a Bible in his hand, and asked me permission to read out of the Scriptures his reason for leaving the church and never entering it more; this I refused, and he went into the vestry, took his hat, and went right down the church. Oh, what a fearful thing! Dear brother, I beseech you to be guarded against the workings of the flesh. Mr. Mackenzie was the only elder left; but the Lord was with us. This morning a man came to us who was delivered under the sermon from his sins. In the afternoon service which I took, the Spirit sealed with His witness both the exposition (Mal. iii.) and the sermon (John vii. 37—39). In the evening, when the church was altogether filled, we locked the doors and kept them locked. The people beat upon them, but I commanded them to be kept shut, resolved to take the responsibility on myself, and I preached with much of the power and presence of God (exposition, Mark xiii.; sermon, Is. xxviii. 9—14); and after all was over, I explained to them that though I had kept my pledge that night, I now solemnly withdrew it, and would permit the Spirit to speak at all times, waiting always at the end of the exposition and the sermon. And if I perish, my dear brother and sister, I perish. Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my latter end be like his. . . . . Oh, my dear, my very dear friends and brethren, wait upon your Father, and keep close to Him in such a time as this! My love to you would not

suffer me to be silent, though I have much to do. God have you ever in His holy keeping!

"Your faithful brother,

"EDWD. IRVING."

So with pathetic solemnity he communicates his final decision to those anxious spectators, who yet cannot choose but interpose and ply him once and again with clear and sober arguments — partly supplied by the distant Scotch divine in Kirkcaldy Manse, who is more absolute and assured in his reasoning, and half disposed to be impatient of Edward's credulity — and partly by the unconvinced yet sympathetic soul of the affectionate brother, who cannot condemn the faith which he sees to be so firm and deeply-rooted. There is something profoundly touching in the situation altogether; the anxious private correspondence of the disturbed relatives—their fears for Edward's position and influence—the troubled laying of their sagacious heads together to make out what arguments will be most likely to affect him, and how he can best be persuaded or convinced for his own good; and altogether ignorant of that affectionate conspiracy, the unconvincible heroic soul, without a doubt or possibility of scepticism; no debateable ground in his mind, on which reasoning and argument can plant their lever; full of a glorious certainty that God has stooped from heaven to send communications to his adoring ear, and ready to undergo the loss of all things, even love, for that wonderful grace and privilege. For some time longer these two Hamiltons, his "dear brother and sister," follow him, doubtfully and sadly, with regrets and tears; but nothing is to be done by all their tender arguments and appeals; "Edward

is so thoroughly convinced in his own mind that it is impossible to make any impression upon him." They try their best, and fail; they drop off after a while, like the rest, with hearts half broken. Months after, when William Hamilton reappears among the mournful handful in Regent Square, which Irving has left behind him, it is said among his friends that he looks ten years older. Comprehension and agreement may fail, but nothing can withdraw this brother Edward from any heart that has ever loved or known him — for the two words mean the same thing, as far as he is concerned.

The very next day after the above letter was written, Irving addressed another to the trustees, setting forth fully the order of worship which he intended henceforward to adopt in the church :—

"November 22nd, 1831.

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I think it to be my duty to inform you exactly concerning the order which I have established in the public worship of the church for taking in the ordinance of prophesying, which it hath pleased the Lord, in answer to our prayers, to bestow upon us. The Apostle Paul, in the 14th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, hath ordered, in the name and by the commandment (verse 37) of the Lord Jesus, that the prophets shall speak when the whole Church is gathered together into one place, 'two or three' (verse 23), and hath permitted that all the prophets may prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all may be comforted (verses 29—31); and he hath given instructions concerning the comely manner in which women shall prophesy in chapter eleven of the same Epistle. Walking by this rule, I have appointed, for the present, that, immediately after the reading and exposition of the Scriptures by the minister, there shall be a pause for the witness of the Holy

Ghost by the mouth of those to whom He hath been given (Acts v. 32), and the same have I appointed to be done after the sermon. And this I intend shall have place at all the public congregations of the church, because I believe it to be according to the commandment of the blessed Lord by the mouth of the Apostle, and according to the practice of the Church, so long as she had prophets speaking by the Holy Ghost in the midst of her.

"The Church of Scotland, at the time of the Reformation, turned her attention reverently to this standing order of the Church of Christ, and appointed a weekly exercise for prophesying or interpreting of the Scriptures (First Book of Discipline, chapter xii.), expressly founded on and ordered by the 14th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, 'to the end that the Kirk may judge whether they be able to serve to God's glory and to the profit of the Kirk in the vocation of the ministry or not.' At that time they had adopted the prevalent but erroneous notion that the office of the apostle, of the evangelist, and of the prophet, are not perpetual; and now 'have ceased in the Kirk of God, except when it pleased God extraordinarily for a time to stir some of them up again,' (Second Book of Discipline, chapter ii.). God hath now proved that He both can and will raise up these offices again, having anointed many, both amongst us and elsewhere, with the gift of prophesying after the manner foretold in Isaiah xxviii. 11, fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, and particularly ordered in 1 Cor. xi. and xiv. These persons having been fully proved at our daily morning exercise, and found to speak by the Spirit of God, I have, in obedience to the Apostle, and in the spirit of the Church of Scotland, permitted to exercise their gift in the congregation, according to the order laid down above.

"Now, my dear brethren, it is well known to you that by the Word of God, and by the rules of all well-ordered churches, and by the trust-deed of our church in particular, it lies with the angel or minister of the church to order in all things connected with the public worship and service of God. For this duty I am responsible to the Great Head of the Church, and have felt the burden of it upon my conscience for many weeks past; but consulting for the feel-

ings of others, I have held back from doing that which I felt to be my duty, and most profitable for the great edification of the Church of Christ, over which the Lord hath set me. I desire to humble myself in His sight for having too long lingered to walk in the way of His express commandment; and having at last obeyed Him to whom we must all answer at the great day, I beseech you, dearly beloved, to strengthen my hands and uphold them, as in times past ye have always been forward to do; but if ye cannot see your way clearly to do this, I entreat you not to let or withstand, lest haply ye be found fighting against God. And the more, as it is expressly written in the only place, where the method of prophesying in another tongue is mentioned, that it should be for a rest and refreshment to some, for a snare and stumbling unto many (Isaiah xxviii. 12, 13). For the rest, dear brethren, I need only add that, if you should see it your duty to take any step toward the prohibition of this (as I have heard that some are minded to do, which may God, for their own sake, prevent, and for the sake of all concerned), I pray that nothing may be done till after a friendly conference between the trustees on the one hand, and myself, your minister, with some friends to assist me, on the other; for as we have hitherto had good Christian fellowship together, we will do our part by all means to preserve it to the end, without compromising our truth and duty. I have done myself the satisfaction of sending to each one of you, dear brethren, a copy of the first part of a treatise on the subject of the Baptism with the Holy Ghost for your further information on this subject, which I beg you will accept as a small token of the esteem and gratitude of your faithful and affectionate friend and minister,

"EDWD. IRVING."

"Finally, may the Lord guide you in upright judgment, and preserve you blameless unto the day of His appearing, and then receive you into His glory! Amen, and Amen!"

It was thus, not in anger, but in mutual affection and regret, that the first parallels of this warfare were

opened; and strangely enough, of all who argued, remonstrated, or pleaded with Irving, in public or private, his Scotch father-in-law, strong in all ecclesiastical proprieties, as it was natural he should be, and often disposed to be impatient of Edward's faith, seems to have been the only man who recognised and acknowledged that, believing as Irving did, no other course was practicable to him. The suppression of the manifestations in public appears to have been all that the trustees ever wanted; and *that* they hoped their minister might be urged or persuaded into, if they still left him the freedom of his morning services. Dr. Martin alone perceived that it was impossible for Irving to shut out, what he took for the voice of God, from any place where he was or had authority.

The treatise upon *Baptism with the Holy Ghost* is one of the brief and few results of his literary labours during this agitating year; this—the tract, published earlier in the year, on *Christ's Holiness in Flesh*, and the reprint of the *Ancient Confessions of Faith* and *Books of Discipline of the Church of Scotland*, being, with the exception of articles in the *Morning Watch* his sole publications in 1831. The latter is especially remarkable, as appearing at such a moment. He had apparently cherished the idea for years; but only now, in the midst of his own troubles, grieved to the heart to see his beloved mother-Church falling, as he believed, so far from her ancient height of perfection, he confronts her once more, indignant yet tender, with these, the primitive rules of her faith and practice, in his hand. A rapid historical sketch of primitive Scotch Christianity in its romantic period, the Culdee age of

gold, which he evidently intended, had time permitted, to carry out through the less obscure chronicles of the Reformation, occupies the first part of the book. But the real preface, to which attaches all the human and individual interest always conveyed by Irving's prefaces, contains an examination of those ancient documents, in which he—who had already been denounced as a heretic, and who was on the eve of being cast out from his church for departing from the rules of the Church of Scotland—enthusiastically adopts the primary standards of that very Church of Scotland as the confession of his faith, and admiringly sets forth the beauty and perfectness of those entirely national statements of belief. I do not know if Irving was the first to fall back with a sensation of relief and expansion from the cruel logic of the Westminster Confession to the earlier Scottish creed, —the simple, manful, uncontroversial declaration of the faith that was in them, which the first Reformers gave, and which, I believe, many of their present descendants would gladly and thankfully see replaced instead of the elaborate production of the Westminster Puritans; but it was he who introduced them anew to the notice of his brethren. In the present condition of the Scotch Church, palpitating silently with what seems a new and different life, the restoration of these old authorities to the supreme place would, I am assured, give space and breathing-room to many wistful souls.

"I prefer beyond all measure," says Irving, "the labours of our Reformers, which took so many years to complete them; and grieve exceedingly that they should have been virtually supplanted and buried out of sight by the act of one General Assembly in a factious time convened. . . . .

While I say I lament this other instance of Scottish haste, I am far from disavowing the Westminster Confession, to which I have set my hand, or even disallowing it as an excellent composition upon the whole. But for many reasons I greatly postpone it to our original standards. . . . The truth is that the Church of Scotland was working with head and hand to proselytise or to beat England into the Presbyterian form of church government, and therefore adopted these books of the English Presbyterians, thinking there could be no unity without uniformity, a cruel mistake which was woefully retaliated upon them in the reigns of the Second Charles and the Second James. It is not with any particular expressions or doctrines of the Westminster Confession that I find fault, but with the general structure of it. It is really an imposition upon a man's conscience to ask him to subscribe such a minute document; it is also a call upon his previous knowledge of ecclesiastical controversy, which very few can honestly answer; and being digested on a systematic principle, it is rather an exact code of doctrine than the declaration of a person's faith in a personal God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. I find it to be a great snare to tender consciences—a great trial to honest men—insomuch that, as a pastor, I have often been greatly perplexed to reconcile men, both elders and preachers, to the subscription of it. They seem to feel that it is rather an instrument for catching dishonest, than a rule for guiding honest people; that it presupposeth men knavish, and prepareth gyves upon their legs, and shackles for their hands. . . . In one word, there is a great deal too much of it for rightly serving the ends of a confession. . . . There is no use for hard-fasting men at such a rate, although it be very necessary to exhibit a distinct standard of faith for them to rally under."

Holding such opinions, Irving, almost hopeless for the recovery of his mother-Church, which appeared to him to have denied the faith, presented to her once more her old forgotten standards, and "this the native and proper Confession of our Church," to show her from what

height she had fallen. Had he been prudent, he might have found some better way of deprecating the censures that threatened him; but he was not prudent. He came forward boldly, not to correct his own views by her present light, but to recall her to the venerable past, the early Reformation glory, her true individual national standing-ground before she had begun to borrow doctrine or authority from other communities. At this very moment, when, on the brink of excommunication, and accused of every kind of ecclesiastical irregularity, he once more fervently proclaimed himself truly loyal, and his assailants the heretics and deniers of the faith. Forlorn, with his friends and brethren dropping off from him, and all the ties of his life breaking in pieces, shortly to be left among a new community which had no filial relationship to Scotland or her Church, he planted again this old national Reformation standard beneath which he was ready to live or to die, and under that antique emblazonry prepared to fight his last battle. It was the neglected, forgotten banner of the Church which assailed him that waved over his martyr head, as he sadly lifted his arms to defend himself against those who sadly took up their weapons against him. But the Church did not pause to recognise her own ancient symbols; took no notice, indeed, of the sorrowful, indignant offering by which her grieved but loving son sought to recall her to herself. I am not aware whether the publication attracted any special degree of attention from any portion of the public. Few people were so much interested as Irving was, in proving that, whatever might be her temporary errors, the foundation of the Church of Scotland was sound, and her ancient heart pure. His

new followers endured the solemn reading of those antiquated articles, which were associated to them with no sacred recollections, and smiled aside at his national fervour. His old adherents were too deeply engaged in the more exciting interest of the present conflict to observe this pathetic re-assertion of orthodox faith.

Throughout the year the *Morning Watch* carried on, without intermission, the two great controversies in which Irving was engaged. Papers on the Humanity of our Lord, which, by over-exposition and explanation, confuse and profane the question, appeared in every number, along with inquiries into the new spiritual gifts, some of which bear the mark of Irving's own hand—and accounts of miraculous cures, so detailed and minute that it is difficult not to think of the parallel cases cited by Professor Holloway and other vendors of miraculous universal medicine. Irving's series upon *Old Testament Prophecies fulfilled in the New*, runs through the entire volume; where, too, there appears now and then a human, personal glimpse of him in the affectionate testimony of a friend; as, for example, when the *Morning Watch*, taking part, for some wonderful occasion, with the *Record*, begs its adherents to support that paper, irrespective of "its conduct on another subject." "We exhort all such to overlook the trespass against a brother, dear as he deservedly is to all who know him," says the prophetical journal, confident that nobody can mistake whom it means, and speaking with a warmth of personal feeling unknown to the abstract dignity of the Press. "There is no breast on earth more ready to pardon than he who has most reason to complain, or who would more regret that

personal feelings towards him should impede the promulgation of such sentiments as those of which we have shown the *Record* to be now the advocate." Such a reference to an individual, assumed to be so entirely well-known and held in such affectionate regard by an audience considerable enough to keep a quarterly review afloat, is, perhaps, unique in literature.

As the days darkened, and the end of the year approached, matters became more and more hopeless in the little world of Regent Square, where still the daily matins gathered crowds of curious worshippers, and where, at almost every service, the voices of the prophets were heard, filling up the pauses which the preacher had appointed for the purpose, and crowding with an excited and miscellaneous auditory the church which was to have been a national rallying point and centre of Christian influence. Such hopes were over now. The inspired circle which surrounded Irving was not of the nation which gave his church its name; those who were of that race were deserting him day by day. It was no longer to a national influence, but to a remnant saved from all nations, a peculiar people, that his earnest eyes were turned. The trustees of the church, to whom he had addressed his letter concerning the new order of worship, continued, while firmly opposed to that novel system, to hope that something might yet be done by reason and argument to change his mind. They met again in December, and had a solemn conference with Irving, who was accompanied by Mr. Cardale (a gentleman whose wife and sister were both among the gifted persons) as his legal adviser, and by Mr. Mackenzie, the only one of his

elders who believed with him. Mr. Hamilton reports, for the information of Dr. Martin, that "a compromise was attempted by some of the trustees, who strongly urged Edward to prohibit the gifted persons from speaking on the Sabbath, leaving it to him to make such regulations regarding the weekly services as he might think proper." When this proved vain, the trustees, "being exceedingly unwilling, from their great reverence and respect for Edward, to push matters to extremes, resolved again to adjourn, and to leave it to the Session, at their meeting on Monday, to reconsider the subject." "The Session"—the same Session which, not a year ago, came forward spontaneously and as one man to take up their share of their leader's burdens, and declare their perfect concurrence with him—"accordingly entered into a very lengthened discussion, during which quotations were made from the Books of Discipline and the Acts of the Assembly to show the inconsistency of the present proceedings with the discipline of the Church. . . . . An intimation was given, which I was pained at, that an appeal would be made to the Presbytery of London, according to the provision of the trust-deed. This Edward most earnestly deprecated, and begged that he might not be carried before a body who are so inimical to him." Mr. Hamilton proceeds to confide to his father-in-law his own melancholy forebodings for everybody and everything concerned; his fears of Irving's "usefulness as a minister being lamentably curtailed," of the scattering of the congregation, and "ruin" of the church, which had been, from the laying of its earliest stone, an object dear to the heart of the

zealous Scotch elder, who now was about to see all his own laborious efforts, and those of his friends, comparatively lost. How such repeated entreaties, urged upon him with real love by his most faithful and familiar friends, must have wrung the heart of Irving, always so open to proofs of affection, may easily be imagined. He stood fast through the whole, a matter more difficult to such a spirit than any strain of resistance to harsher persecutions. The next meeting he does not seem to have attended; but, on hearing their decision, wrote to the Session the following letter, full of an almost weeping tenderness, as well as of a resolution which nothing could move:—

"London, December 24, 1831.

"My dear Brethren,—There is nothing which I would not surrender to you, even to my life, except to hinder or retard in any way what I most clearly discern to be the work of God's Holy Spirit, which, with heart and hand, we must all further, as we value the salvation of our immortal souls. I most solemnly warn you all, in the name of the most High God, for no earthly consideration whatever, to gainsay or impede the work of speaking with tongues and prophesying which God had begun amongst us, and which answereth in all respects, both formally and spiritually, to the thing promised in the Scriptures to those who believe; possessed in the primitive Church, and much prayed for by us all. I will do everything I can, dear brethren, to lead you into the truth in this matter; but God alone can give you to discern it, for it is a work of the Spirit, and only spiritually discerned. It cannot but be with great detriment to the church over which we watch, and much grieving to the Spirit of God, that any steps should be taken against it. And I do beseech you, as men for whose souls I watch, not to take any. I cannot find liberty to deviate in anything from the order laid down in my former letter, received by the trustees, the 22nd of November, which is according to the commandments of the Lord, and in

nothing contradictory to the constitutions of the Church of Scotland. And to that letter I refer the trustees, as containing the grounds of my proceeding. Farewell! may the Lord have you in His holy keeping and guidance!

"Your affectionate and faithful friend and pastor,

"EDWD. IRVING."

So the year closed, in perplexity and anxious fear to all those friendly and affectionate opponents whom the heat of conflict had not yet excited into any animosity against himself; but not in perplexity to Irving, who, secure in his faith, doubted nothing, and was as ready to march to stake or gibbet, had such things been practicable, as any primitive martyr. But sharp to his heart struck those reiterated prayers which he could not grant—those importunities of affectionate unreasonableness, which would neither see this duty as he saw it, nor perceive how impossible it was for him, believing as he did, to restrain or limit the utterances of God. Such a want of perception must have aggravated to an intolerable height the sufferings of his tender heart in this slow and tedious disruption of all its closest ties; but he showed no sign of impatience. He answered them with a pathetic outburst of sorrowful love, "There is nothing which I would not surrender to you, even to my life,"—nothing but the duty he owed to God. In that dreadful alternative, when human friendship and honour stood on one side, and what he believed his true service to his Master on the other, Irving had no possibility of choice. Never man loved love and honour more; but he turned away with steadfast sadness, smiling a smile full of tears and anguish upon those brethren whose affection would

still add torture to the pain that was inevitable. He could descend into the darkening world alone, and suffer the loss of almost all that was dear to his heart. He could bear to be shut out from his pulpit, excommunicated by his Church, forsaken of his friends. What he could not do, was to weigh his own comfort, happiness, or life, for a moment, against what he believed to be the will and ordinance of God.

CHAPTER V.

1832.

THE next year began with but a gradual increase of darkness to the devoted household, from which old friends were failing and old ties breaking every day. It was no lack of affection which necessitated those partings; but utter disagreement in a point so important, and the growing impatience of the sensible, "practical" men around him for that impracticable faith which no motive of prudence nor weight of reasoning could move, inevitably took the heart from their intercourse, and produced a gradual alienation between Irving and his ancient brethren. Other friends, it is true, came in to take their place — partisans still more close, loyal, and loving — but they were new, little tried, strangers to all his native sympathies and prejudices, neither Scotch nor Presbyterian: and with equal inevitableness took up an attitude of opposition to the older party, and made the pathetic struggle an internecine war. On all sides the friends of years parted from Irving's side. His wife's relations, with whom he had exchanged so many good offices and tender counsels, were, to a man, against him: so were his elders, with one exception. His friends outside

the ecclesiastical boundaries were still less tolerant. Thomas Carlyle and his wife, both much beloved, not only disagreed, but remonstrated; the former making a vehement protestation against the "Bedlam" and "Chaos" to which his friend's steps were tending, which Irving listened to in silence, covering his face with his hands. When the philosopher had said, doubtless in no measured or lukewarm terms, what he had to say, the mournful apostle lifted his head, and addressed him with all the tenderness of their youth—"Dear friend!"—that turning of the other cheek seems to have touched the heart of the sage almost too deeply to make him aware what was the defence which the other returned to his fiery words. None of his old supporters, hitherto so devoted and loyal, stood by Irving in this extremity; nobody except the wife, who shared all his thoughts, and followed him faithfully in faith as well as in love to the margin of the grave.

In the midst of all these disruptions, however, he snatches a moment to send the good wishes of the beginning season to Kirkcaldy Manse: "I desire to give thanks to God that He has spared us all to another year," he writes, "and I pray that it may be very fruitful in you and in us unto all good works. We have daily reason to praise the Lord. He gives us new demonstrations of His presence amongst us daily. There is not any church almost with which He hath dealt so graciously. May the Lord revive and restore His work in the midst of you all! I would there were in every congregation a morning prayer-meeting for the gifts of the Spirit." These brief words mark, however,

the limits to which he is now reduced in those once overflowing domestic confidences. He can but utter with an unexpressed sigh the still affectionate good-will, and make a tacit protest against harsh judgment by fervent utterances of gratitude for the manifestations of God's presence. Sympathy of thought and spiritual feeling was over between those close friends.

Very early in this year the little band of "gifted" persons, whose presence had made so much commotion in Regent Square, and of whom we have hitherto had no very clear and recognisable picture, is opened up to us in the narrative, which I have already referred to, of one of the most remarkable among them, Mr. Robert Baxter, then of Doncaster. Having but recently appeared within the inspired circle, this gentleman had made his utterances with so much power and authority, that already adumbrations of an office higher than the prophetic overshadowed him, and he seems to have taken a leading place in all the closest and most sacred conferences of the prophets. He had been for some years known to Irving; his character for godliness and devotion stood high, and he was so much in the confidence and fellowship of the minister of the church in Regent Square as to have been, before any gifts had manifested themselves in him, permitted occasionally to conduct some part of the service in the morning prayer-meetings. At length he spoke, and that with a force and fulness not yet attained by any of the other speakers. "In the beginning of my utterances that evening," he says in his narrative, "some observations were in the power addressed by me to the pastor in a commanding tone; and the manner and course of utter-

ance was so far differing from those which had been manifested in the members of his own flock*, that he was much startled. . . . . I was made to bid those present ask instruction upon any subject on which they sought to be taught of God; and to several questions asked, answers were given by me in the power. One in particular was so answered with such reference to the circumstances of the case, of which in myself I was wholly ignorant, as to convince the person who asked it that the Spirit speaking in me knew those circumstances, and alluded to them in the answer." This further development of the gift, after a momentary doubt, was received with still fuller gratitude and trust by Irving, who comforts himself in his desertion by communicating the news as follows to his distant friends, one of whom was in perfect accordance with him, while he had still hopes of the sympathy of the other. To Mr. Macdonald he conveys the intelligence in haste, and with perfect confidence of being understood:—.

"London, 24th January, 1832.

"The Lord hath anointed Baxter of Doncaster after another kind, I think the apostolical; the prophetical being the ministration of the word; the apostolical being the ministration of the Spirit. He speaks from supernatural light, and with the choice of words. Nevertheless, the word is sealed in the utterance. It is more abiding than the prophetical, though sometimes for a snare he is locked up. It is authoritative, and always concludes with a benediction."

In more detail, and with pathetic appeal and remonstrance, he communicates the same news to Mr. Story,

* Mr. Baxter was a member of the Church of England.

transmitting the message itself, as well as the claims of the messenger to increased honour and reverence.

"London, 27th January, 1832.

"MY DEAR BROTHER, — It has been said in the Spirit by a brother (Robert Baxter of Doncaster; he has written several papers in the *Morning Watch*), that the Two Witnesses are two orders of anointed men, the prophets and the priests, the one after the Old Testament, the other after the New Testament form; the one those who speak with tongues, and to whom the Word of the Lord comes without power to go beyond or fall within; the other the apostolical, in whom the Spirit of Jesus dwells as in Jesus Himself for utterance of every sort with demonstration of the Spirit, and with power. For the last six months, the Spirit hath been moving him, and uttering by him privately; but his mouth was not opened till Friday week, when he was reading the Scripture and praying at our early service. From that time for more than a week he continued [among us*] speaking in the power and demonstration of the Spirit with great authority, always concluding in the Spirit with a benediction. To me it seems to be the apostolical office for which I have had faith given to me to [pray] both publicly and privately these many months. I gave him liberty to speak on the Lord's day, but God did not see it meet. A clergyman of the [Church] had the faith to give him his pulpit last Sunday, when he prayed in the Spirit. He said in the Spirit that the two orders of witnesses were now present in the Church, the 1260 days of witnessing are begun, and that within three and a half years, the saints will be taken up, according to the 12th chapter of the Apocalypse. (This is not to date the Lord's coming, which is some time after His saints are with Him.) Also, he said in the Spirit, that ordination by the hands of the Church is cut short in judgment, and that God Himself is about to set forth by the Spirit a spiritual ministry, for which we ought to

* This letter is torn and partly illegible. The few words in brackets are filled in from the evident meaning of the context.

prepare the people. That both the Church and the State are accursed; that the abomination of iniquity is set up in this land, and that here the witnesses will be slain; that many people, multitudes, will be gathered of the people, a goodly number of the nobles, and the king himself given to the prayers of his people; but that the nation and the Church will be else destroyed. That the pestilence and the sword will overflow the land, but the people of God preserved; and that those who are looking for the coming of the Lord, should set their house in order, and be sitting loose. These things I believe, some of them I understand, others I have not yet attained to. I write them for your reflection; do not make them matter of news, but of meditation. The Lord greatly blesses my ministry. His way is wonderfully opened among us, and those that know Him gather strength daily. I have no doubt that He is preparing the way of a great work in my church, through much reproach and apparent foolishness. My own soul hath greater entrance unto God. The Lord is leavening this city with His truth. Every night there are several places at which the men of the congregation gather the poor to discourse to them. I seldom preach less than seven times a week, and we meet more than two hundred every morning for prayer in the Church, at half-past six o'clock, and continue till eight, and have done it the winter through. I intermingle it with pastoral admonitions, and the Spirit speaks almost every morning by the prophets and interpreters. Oh, Story, thou hast grievously sinned in standing afar off from the work of the Lord, scanning it like a sceptic instead of proving it like a spiritual man! Ah, brother, repent, and the Lord will forgive thee! I am very much troubled for you; but I rejoice in your returning strength. God give you unmeasured faithfulness! . . . .

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"EDWD. IRVING."

"Mrs. Caird is a saint of God, and hath the gift of prophecy."

Mrs. Caird thus referred to, the gifted Mary Campbell of the Gairloch, who appears to have been

again in London, and to whom Irving bears such emphatic testimony, had by this time failed to satisfy the expectations of her former pastor and oldest friend, the minister of Rosneath; and the sentence of approval pronounced with so much decision and brevity at the conclusion of this letter addressed to him, was Irving's manner of avoiding controversy and making his friend aware that, highly as he esteemed himself, he could hear nothing against the other, whose character had received the highest of all guarantees to his unquestioning faith. Our history has little directly to do with this remarkable woman, who does not appear distinctly even in the revelations of Mr. Baxter; but I am happy to have it in my power to refer my readers to the biography of Mr. Story, which has been already mentioned, for many most interesting and powerful sketches of the secondary persons who crossed and influenced in different degrees the faith of Irving. None of all the prophetic speakers who at this time wrought into the highest dramatic excitement the little world of Regent Square, appears before us in such recognisable personality as does Mr. Baxter. He tells his strange story with all the intensity of passion, and that unconscious eloquence which inspires a man when he chronicles the climax and culmination of his own life. In the wonderful sphere revealed to us in his little book, the detail of ordinary circumstances scarcely appears at all. Outside, the office-bearers are holding melancholy consultations how to deal with this church, in which practices contrary to the usual regulations of the Church of Scotland are undoubtedly taking place every day—how to soothe

or persuade the friend and minister, so dear to them all, into moderation, conformity, indulgence for their scruples, if not into their own common sense view of the entire matter. We have already noted this side of the question; how they consult and re-consult—how they invite to sad argumentative meetings the 'tender' heart which, torn by every fresh argument, would surrender everything, even his life, but cannot relinquish his duty and conviction; how, as the lingering days wear on, his position, his daily bread, his children's subsistence, and dearer still, his honour and good fame, and that standing-ground within the Church of Scotland, which in his heart he prizes more than life, hang in the balance, no one knowing when the sad assailants may open the last parallel and the final blow may fall. Nothing of this outside scene, though it proceeds at the same moment with all its real and pathetic particulars, wringing some hearts and grieving many, is visible in the closer sanctuary within, where Mr. Baxter draws the curtain. There life lies rapt in ecstatic flights of devotion, yet with an inward eye always turned upon the movements of its own heart; there sudden supernatural impulses, fiery breaths of inspiration, seize upon the expectant soul—there in a mysterious fellowship, prophet after prophet, with convulsed frame and miraculous outcry, takes up the burden and enforces the message of his predecessor; by times electrifying the little assembly with sudden denunciation of some secret sin in the midst of them, over which judgment is hanging, or of some intruding devil who has found entrance into the sacred place. The fact that these awful assemblies are

in the first place collected to *dinner* makes an uncomfortable discord in the scene, till the chief seer of the company becomes himself uneasy on that score, and declares "in the power" that this assembling with a secular motive is unseemly and must be no longer continued. But the meetings themselves continue daily, nightly, the record flowing on as if life itself must have come by the way, and these reunions alone have been the object of existence. I quote at length in the Appendix from this most remarkable narrative. The passionate closeness of the tale, the reality of the scene, the long-drawn breath and gasp, scarcely calmed out of that profound emotion with which the speaker tells his story, are more emphatic witnesses of his truthfulness than any proof.

In this strange drama Irving appears more than a spectator, and less than an actor. He is there listening with fervent faith, trying the spirits with anxious scrutiny, his own lofty mind bringing to a species of ineffable reason and proof, those phenomena which were entirely beyond either proof or reason, both to the ecstatics who received them unhesitatingly, and to the sceptics who could not receive them at all. In the case of Mr. Baxter above described, "the pastor" was "troubled," fearing that this new development of the utterance resembled the case of "two children in Gloucestershire who had been made to speak in wonderful power, and who afterwards were found to speak by a false spirit." "He came up to me," says Mr. Baxter, "and said, 'Faith is very hard.' I was immediately made to address him, and reason with him in the power, until he was fully convinced the Spirit was

of God, and gave thanks for the manifestation of it." At another time this prophet, having been directed by the mysterious influence within him to proceed to the Court of Chancery, where a message was to be given him, found on proceeding there, with tragic expectations of prison and penalty, that the impulse was withheld. Deeply disappointed, he came to Irving in his discomfiture, and the pastor soothed the impatience of the inspired speaker, and re-established his failing faith. In the midst of another exciting scene, in which the exorcism of an evil spirit is attempted without success, where Mrs. Caird and Baxter himself stand over the supposed demoniac, adjuring the devil to come out of him, and another prophetess of weaker frame has fainted in the excitement, Irving once more appears exhorting them to patience — *suggesting*, as our informant significantly says, that "this kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting." Such is his position in that strange atmosphere where hectic expectation is always on tiptoe, and where the air throbs with spiritual presence. No prophetic message comes from his lips; but he has not relinquished his authority, the sway of a spirit which is roused, but not intoxicated, by the surrounding miracle. Amid the agitation and tumult he stands preserving all the tender humanity of which nothing could deprive him, ready to cheer the ecstatic souls in their intervals of depression, ready to moderate the absolutism with which the more profoundly agitated struggle for results, leading their prayers, listening with devout faith to their utterances, understanding some part of them, though "others," as he himself says with touching humility, "I have not yet

attained to," and never ceasing to mingle with "pastoral admonitions" the prophetic addresses. When an unlucky neophyte stumbles into the sacred inclosure, believing himself endowed with power to interpret the unknown tongues—in the midst of the somewhat rough handling which he meets from the prophets themselves and the immediate bystanders, he has nothing but kindness to report of Irving, who overpowers him with awe by solemnly praying for him that the gift he had imagined himself to have received might be perfected. The position and scene is altogether wonderful; and through the often-varying voices, through the cries and thrills of prophetic ecstasy, through the frequent agitations which convulse that company, waiting the impulse which comes and goes "as it listeth," no man being able to say when it will enter or when go forth, the great preacher stands wistful-silent, never able to shut out from his heart the sad world, and the sadder desertions outside, yet thanking God with pathetic joy for the revelations, of which he believes all, and understands something, within. Never was a more affecting picture—and it is only in the remarkable disclosures of Mr. Baxter that this strange inner circle rounds out of the darkness with its "appalling utterances," its intruding demons, its breathless, absorbed existence full of rapture and revelation.

In the church itself the warnings and admonitions of the new prophets had borne more wholesome fruit. A new body of Evangelists sprang up among the spiritual men of the congregation, who went preaching everywhere, sometimes even bringing upon themselves the observation of the alarmed protectors of the public

peace, and "being called up before the magistrates on account of it," as Mr. Baxter informs us—a harmless kind of persecution, which naturally the new preachers, in the exuberance of early zeal, made the most of. Irving himself, always so lavish in labour, was not behind in this quickening of evangelical exertion, He describes himself as preaching "seldom less than seven times a week;" besides which he had the morning meeting constantly to attend, children to catechize, conferences to hold, and a close perpetual background of private expositions, prophesyings, and prayers, in which, without any metaphor, his entire life seems to have been occupied. Rent asunder as he was by the two companies between which he stood,—the one, whom he would have died to win, importuning him to relinquish his faith for their sake, and gradually withdrawing from him, as he resisted, all the human supports upon which he had most leaned—the other, with whom he had no choice but to cast his lot, perplexing oft his noble intelligence, sometimes wounding his heart; bound to him indeed by close links of love and fellow-feeling, but not by ancient brotherhood—the bonds of long, mutual labour, hope, and sorrow—nor by the tender prejudices of nationality and education—it is yet no divided man who appears amid all the agitation and tumult without and within. Constant, steadfast, without a vacillation, he goes upon his heroic way. No new honour has come to him, rather the contrary; for other voices of higher authority than his echo within the walls once consecrated to his voice; while he, the foremost to believe, bows his head and thanks God, and bids his people listen to that utterance from

heaven. But nothing that he encounters, not even that hardest trial of all—the anxiety that moves him when "faith" becomes "hard," when spiritual accusations begin to rise, and evil influences are suspected to mingle with the inspiration of God—can disturb the unity of his being or make him waver. He has prayed, and God has answered; he has tried the spirits, and with solemn acclamations they have answered the test, and owned the Lord; and now let all suffering, all opposition, all agony come. If his very prophets fail him, his faith cannot fail him. And thus he goes forward, feeling to the depths of his heart all the remonstrances and appeals addressed to him, yet smiling in sad constancy upon those importunate voices; and hearing as if he heard them not.

Notwithstanding, however, the reluctant affection of the managers of the church, affairs made inevitable progress. Though it is perfectly true, on one side, that there were no direct laws of the Church of Scotland against the exercise of an entirely unexpected endowment for which no provision had been made, and equally certain that to every man who believed these gifts genuine, no sin could be more heinous than a wilful suppression of them; yet it was still more apparent, on the other side, that nothing could be more unlike the reserved and austere worship of the Scotch Church, so carefully abstracted from everything that could excite imagination or passion, than the new and startling intervention of voices, unauthorised by any ecclesiastical rule, which introduced the whole round of human excitement into those calm Presbyterian Sabbath-days, stirring into utter antagonism, impatience, and opposi-

tion the former leaders of the community, who found themselves thus defied and thwarted on their own ground. For their minister's convictions they had the utmost tenderness and reverence, but they would indeed have been more than men could they have seen with equal forbearance the new influence, twenty times more engrossing and exacting than theirs, which had become absolute with him, and through him exercised unbounded sway in all their public religious services. Feelings less tender and Christian came in. Men who little more than a year before had pledged their honour to Irving's support against the petty persecution of the Presbytery, and maintained him in his withdrawal from its jurisdiction, now began to bethink themselves of the capabilities of that very Presbytery against which they had protested. That court only could, with any ecclesiastical consistency, arbitrate between them and their minister; and at length they seem to have reached the pitch of indignation and impatience necessary to induce them to take the humiliating step of asking the intervention of the authority which they had renounced, against the man for whose sake, a little while before, they had thrown off their allegiance. This painful conclusion was, however, reached by slow degrees. The first step towards it was taken in the beginning of the year, when—still with a forlorn and indeed most hopeless hope of breaking Irving's resolution, if they were clearly demonstrated to have the law on their side—they submitted the whole facts of the case to Sir Edward Sugden, and obtained that eminent lawyer's opinion in their favour. This decision gave an authoritative answer to the assumption that the direction of

the order of worship in Regent Square church was entirely in the hands of the minister, which Irving seems to have been advised to set up in answer to their remonstrances. Armed with this document, a deputation of the trustees went to Irving, asking his final determination. "He received them cordially," writes Mr. Hamilton; "expressed himself much gratified with the kind manner in which they had always treated him, and promised to give them his answer in a few days." A Sunday intervened before this answer was given; and on that day, after each service in the church, Irving forestalled the formal intimation, which, indeed, so thoroughly were his sentiments known, was nothing more than a form, by a public statement from the pulpit, which Mr. Hamilton, following the course of events in anxious and minute detail, reports to Kirkcaldy. "I have something of great importance to say to you," said the preacher, according to his brother-in-law's report:—

"I do not know whether I may ever look this congregation again in the face in this place, and whether the doors of the church will not be shut against me during this week. If it be so, it will be simply because I have refused to allow the voice of the Spirit of God to be silenced in this church. No man has anything to say against me. I have offended no ordinance of God or man, and I have broken no statute of man. No one has found any fault with me at all except in the matter of my God — nay, on the contrary, every one has pronounced me even more abundant in my labours and more diligent in my duties of late; and also that my preaching has been more simple and edifying than formerly. The church has been enlarged; many souls have been converted by the voice of the Spirit; the church has fallen off in nothing; and altogether the work of the Lord has been proceeding. But

because I am firm in my honour of God and reverence for His ordinances, we are come to this. Now I must provide for my flock. What are you to do? You must not come here. Here the Spirit of God has been cast out, and none can prosper who come here to worship. Go not to any church where they look shyly on the work of the Spirit. We must 'not forsake the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is.' This, then, I advise for the present, that each householder who is a member of this flock do gather around him those in his neighbourhood who are not householders, and joining to them the poor, do exhort them and expound to them the word of the Lord. . . . And if he has no gifts, there are plenty of young men in this church who are gifted, and who are willing to be so employed, and I myself am willing to be helpful in all ways in this work. All the other meetings of the church will be held in my house. Let no one be troubled for me: I am not troubled. When I came to London, I said, 'Let me have the liberty to preach the Gospel without let or hindrance, and I am ready to come without any bond or money transaction; and if there is any difficulty, let me come and be among you from house to house.' To these kind friends I am beholden. They have ever provided me with what was needful; but I have never counted my house my own, nor my money my own; they have been for the brethren. And now I am ready to go forth and leave them, if the Lord's will be so. If we should be cast out for the truth, let us rejoice; yea, let us exceedingly rejoice."

Such was the sorrowful elder's account of this address, which comes through his memory evidently dimmed out of its natural eloquence, but touching in the perfect truthfulness of its appeal to the recollection at once of the hearers and of the speaker himself. Many of those who heard Irving speak these words could prove from their own remembrance the lofty disinterestedness with which he had begun his career, and none more than the men who now felt it necessary

to take from him the house and income which, as he says, "he never counted his own." What prospect of compulsory silence to himself or dispersion to his flock had been in his mind, prompting that singular piece of advice to "every householder," it is impossible to tell. Perhaps when he spread the lawyer's judgment before the Lord, dark indications of future trouble had trembled on the prophetic lips, and nothing which he could interpret as a clear indication of the Divine will had made light in the darkness of the future. But, however that might be, his course was decided. If even he had to be silent from that work of preaching which had at all times been his chosen occupation, he who would have come to London ten years before without "bond or money transaction," only to have "the liberty of preaching the Gospel," was now ready to relinquish not only all his living, but that dearer privilege, the very power of preaching, if so it must be, rather than put any limit upon the utterances which he believed Divine. The next day, after this intimation to the people, he gave the formal answer which had been demanded from him to the trustees of the church.

"13 Judd Place, East, 28th February, 1832.

"My dear Brethren,—I have read over the opinion of Sir Edward Sugden, which you were so kind as to submit to me, and I have taken a full week to consider of it. The principle on which I have acted is to preserve the integrity of my ministerial character unimpaired, and to fulfil my office according to the word of God. If the trust-deed do fetter me therein, I knew it not when the trust-deed was drawn, and am sure that it never was intended in the drawing of it; for certainly I would not, to possess all the churches of this land, bind myself one iota from obeying the great

Head and Bishop of the Church. But if it be so that you, the trustees, must act to prevent me and my flock from assembling to worship God, according to the word of God, in the house committed into your trust, we will look unto our God for preservation and safe keeping. Farewell! may the Lord have you in His holy keeping!

"Your faithful and affectionate friend,

"EDWD. IRVING."

After this, he was vexed with no more of those affectionate and importunate arguments which had tried his tender heart for months before. The division was now accepted as final, compromise was no longer possible, and nothing remained but to prove his divergence from the rules of Presbyterian worship and to close the church doors upon him. "The trustees," said Sir Edward Sugden, "ought immediately to proceed to remove Mr. Irving from his pastoral charge, by making complaint to the London Presbytery in the manner pointed out by the deed." It was now understood by both parties that this was the only course to be adopted; and the minister who had withdrawn from the censures of that Presbytery a year before, disowning its jurisdiction—and the men* who had rallied round him then, and solemnly declared their entire approval at once of that act and of the sentiments which had roused the Presbytery into censure—had now to approach that obscure tribunal to have the matter between them decided; the one to stand at the unfriendly bar, the others to prosecute their charge against him. Considering all that had passed before, Irving had not the shadow of a chance before the

* The Trustees and Kirk-session were not identical; but the most influential of Irving's opponents were members of both.

ecclesiastical court which had already delivered judgment on him, and the authority of which he had cast off almost haughtily. It was a foregone conclusion to which that little group of ministers were asked to come over again. If such a wonder had happened as that the case of the trustees had broken down, the Presbytery itself, now that he had been dragged back within its grasp, had matter enough on which to condemn him. If anything could have embittered the matter in dispute, it would have been the selection of these judges. When, in the earlier stages of the argument, it was proposed to appeal to the arbitration of the Presbytery, Irving "begged" the elders, as Mr. Hamilton tells us, not to take this step. But things had progressed far in these few months. Now he said nothing on the subject, and was apparently indifferent as to who might judge him. The matter had resolved itself, indeed, into mere question and answer; any other trial, however exciting it might be at the moment, was but a necessary form. The simple fact was, that he had been asked to silence those strange voices which the trustees proclaimed to be mere outcries of human delusion and excitement, but which he held to be so many utterances of the voice of God — and had answered, No!— would answer No! howsoever the question might be asked him — opposing, to every argument of reason, to every inducement of interest, to every taunt of folly, a steadfast front of faith unbroken. The trial before the Presbytery, considering the ground taken by the Trustees, and the hopelessness of any real and grave inquiry into the merits of the question, was little more than a form. But, notwithstanding that, bitterness had to be

encountered; and whenever it became inevitable, Irving awaited it calmly, making no further appeal against the cruelty and humiliation. If he had carried matters with a high hand once, when, secure of support and rich in friends, he shook off the dust from his feet in testimony against the arbitrary condemnation of his former brethren, the reverse that befell him now, when forced to return and plead his cause before them, would have been mortification enough to any ordinary man. He accepted it, however, with lofty composure, and without a complaint, throwing no obstacles in the way of those for whose relief and satisfaction this trial was to be inflicted on him.

It was not till the 22nd of March that the Presbytery received the complaint of the trustees. An entire month consequently elapsed between the solemn intimation made by Irving to his people, that their church would probably be closed upon them, and the commencement of the proceedings. This month passed in the ordinary labours—the extraordinary devotions common to his life. Every wintry morning dawned upon the servant of God amid prayers and prophesyings, while he stood, the first to hear and to worship amid the early company, never intermitting, notwithstanding his faith, the pastor's anxious care that admonition should be mingled with revelation, and that the spirits should prove themselves to be of God, by acknowledging the name that is above all names; every laborious evening fell filled up till its latest moments with his Master's business. Day by day he preached, day by day sent forth other men into the streets and highways to preach—if not like him, yet with

hearts touched by the same fire; over those perpetual evangelist proclamations without, and that wonderful world of expectation within, in which at any moment God's audible voice might thrill the worshippers, the days passed one by one, mingling the din of busy London, the incidents of common life, the domestic voices and tender tones of children, with the highest strain of human toil, and climax of human emotion. Such a cadence and rhythmical overflow of life few men have ever attained. The highest dreams of imagination, trembling among things incomprehensible, could realise nothing more awful, nothing so certain to take entire possession of the fascinated soul as those utterances of the Spirit if they were true—and they *were* true to Irving's miraculous heart; while, at the same time, no labouring man could imagine a more ceaseless round of toil than that by which he kept the mighty equilibrium of his soul, and counterpoised with generous work the excitement and agitation which might otherwise have overwhelmed him. Between those two consuming yet compensating spheres, the man himself, not yet exhausted, stands in a pale glow of suffering and injured love, wounded in the house of his friends, with a hundred arrows in the heart which knows no defence against the assault of unkind words and averted looks. He makes no outcry of his own suffering. There, where he stands, the dearest voices murmur at him with taunts of cruel wisdom or censures of indignant virtue. They say he seeks notoriety, courts the wild suffrage of popular applause, they cast at him common nicknames of enthusiasm, fanaticism, delusion; they call him arrogant, presumptuous, vain — even, with more vulgar

tongues, religious trickster and cheat. In the very fulness of that lofty and prodigal existence, the blow strikes to the fountains of life. A friend had once said to him that Christians ought to rejoice when the outside world despised and contemned the Church. "Ah, no!" answered, with a sigh, this soul experienced in such trials, "Reproach hath broken my heart!" These words breathe out of his uncomplaining lips at this crisis with ineffable sadness, sometimes breaking forth in pathetic outbursts of that grief which, in its passion and vehemence, sounds almost like the lofty wrath of the old prophets, and giving sometimes a momentary thrill of discord to his undiminished eloquence. Already he had entered deep into the pangs of martyrdom.

The following letter will show how even the bosom of domestic affection was ruffled by these assaults. It is addressed to Dr. Martin, who, watching the progress of affairs from a distance, had not hesitated to make emphatic and repeated protests against what appeared to him delusion:—

"London, 7th March, 1832.

"MY DEAR FATHER-IN-LAW,—Your letters concerning the work of the Holy Ghost in my church, and my conduct in respect thereto, do trouble and grieve me very much, because of your rashness in coming to a conclusion on so awful a question without the materials for a judgment; and because of the unqualified manner in which both you and Samuel and all condemn me, without any adequate information, and, as seems to me, without due tenderness and love. If this be the work of the Holy Ghost, the voice of Jesus in His Church, who am I that I should interdict or prevent it any way? I believe it is so, and that is the only reason why I have acted as I have done, and will continue so to do until the end. . . .

I am responsible to the great Head of the Church, in virtue of being the angel of the church; the elders and deacons have an authority derived from and delegated to them by me, but not to the dividing or deprivation of mine. The grounds of this doctrine I laid out before this came to pass in my Lectures on the Apocalypse, and I have acted thereafter according to previous conviction, and as a course of conduct, and not from the particular case, as you and Samuel unkindly and unjustly suppose. I never made any agreement, at any time, to suppress the voice of the Spirit in the public assemblies of the church, and never will do. For one week, while I thought the people were turbulently set against it, I wavered about its proceeding in the evening, till I saw my way clearly.

"Moreover, dear father, know and be assured that the Lord prospers my ministry and my flock more abundantly than ever; that more souls than ever hear the word at my mouth, and more souls are converted unto the Lord Jesus; . . . and for myself, and my wife and children, fear nothing, because we serve the Lord, and suffer for righteousness' sake. What you misname my imagination, is my spirit, which surely you would wish to see triumphant over the understanding of the natural mind. . . . . Oh, my dear Sir, look to your own dead, and heretical, and all but apostate church at home, and see what repentance and humiliation can be offered for it. Rejoice that there is one church in this land where the voice of the Holy Ghost, speaking in the members, is heard. Give thanks and judge no rash judgments. For however they be well meant, they are far, far from the truth, and add much to the burden which I have already to sustain. . . . . Farewell! God keep you faithful in such times!

"Your affectionate and dutiful son,

"EDWD. IRVING."

Over this letter wise heads were doubtless shaken and sorrowing tears shed in the Kirkcaldy manse, where the family, in their mutual letters, full of Edward, confide to each other a certain distressed and excited impatience of his weakness, mingled with involuntary

outbreaks of love and praise, which, uttered evidently to relieve their own hearts, give an affecting picture of the wonderful hold which this brother, straying daily further out of their comprehension and sympathy, had of their hearts.

With strange calmness, after these utterances of emotion, yet giving example of the common feeling, Mr. Hamilton's sensible, regretful voice interposes once more in the narrative, telling over again, with the sigh of impatient wonder natural to a man so sagacious and unexcitable, those same prophecies and revelations given by Mr. Baxter, which Irving had reported in full conviction of their importance. "I merely mention the above, to give you some idea of the nature of the manifestations which have been made in the church," he writes. "There have been others, however, of a much more comforting tendency. I believe that a large proportion of the present congregation agree with Edward in the belief of the reality of those manifestations, and that they will follow him wherever he may remove to; and I must say that they are in general very pious people, zealous for God, and most exemplary in the discharge of their religious duties. As for Edward, he continues unwearied and unceasing in his labours; indeed, it is a marvel to me how he is able to bear up under them all. I never knew any man so devoted to the service of his Master, or more zealous in the performance of what he conceives to be his duty."

Such being the condition of affairs, the question came before the London Presbytery to its final trial — "Is there anything in the constitution of the Church

which forbids the exercise of the prophetic gift, supposing it to be real?" asks Mr. Hamilton, with sudden acuteness, in the letter above quoted. Such a question would indeed seem to be the first and most urgent, seeing that the emergency was distinctly unexpected and unprovided for by the original legislators of the Church of Scotland. But so far as I am aware, nobody attempted to give an answer to this fundamental inquiry. In the trial which followed, it does not seem ever to have been taken into consideration at all. The matter was contracted and debased, at the very outset, to a superficial inquiry into facts, the complaint of the trustees being entirely confined to the assertion that unauthorised persons, "neither ministers nor licentiates of the Church of Scotland," and in some cases "neither members nor seatholders" of the individual congregation, had been permitted to "interrupt the public services of the church." The Presbytery, of course, did not confine themselves to the proving of this simple issue; but amid all the inquisitions that followed, no one seems to have been sensible that the first question to be asked in the matter was that put by Mr. Hamilton; or that, supposing the strange possibility of Irving's belief proving true, it was necessary to find out whether God Himself might not be an unauthorised speaker in His too well-defended church. This hypothesis the little ecclesiastical court did not take into consideration for a moment. They put it aside arbitrarily, as it is always so easy to do, and, indeed, never seem to have thought, or to have had suggested to them, that this profounder general question lay under the special case which they had immediately in hands, and that no radical settle-

ment could be made of the individual matter without some attempt, at least, to establish the general principle.

Before, however, these final proceedings were commenced, Irving addressed yet another letter to his opponents. It is without date, but was evidently intended to reach them on the occasion of a conclusive meeting, of which he had been informed; and, while less familiar and more solemn than his former letters, still overflows with personal affection.

"MEN AND BRETHREN,—As a man and the head of a family, bound to provide for himself and those of his own house, I am enabled of God to be perfectly indifferent to the issue of your deliberations this night, though it should go to deprive me of all my income, and cast me — after ten years of hard service, upon the wide world, with my wife and my children — forth from a house which was built almost entirely upon the credit of my name, and primarily for my life enjoyment, where also the ashes of my children repose.

"As a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath been honoured of Him to bring forth from obscurity a whole system of precious truth, and especially to proclaim to this land the glad and glorious tidings of His speedy coming, and strengthened of Him to stand for the great bulwarks of the faith, ofttimes almost single and alone, I am still indifferent to the issue of this night's deliberations, which can bring little addition to the burdens of one groaning under the reproach of ten thousand tongues, in ten thousand ways put forth against his good and honourable name. For I am well assured that my God whom I serve, and for whom I suffer reproach, will support and richly reward me, even though ye also should turn against me, whom the Lord set to be a defence and protection round about me. As the pastor of a flock, consisting of several hundreds of precious souls, and the minister of the word unto thousands weekly, nay, daily, congregating into our beautiful house, though it hath cost me many a pang, I am also entirely resigned to His will, and can cast

them all upon His rich and bountiful providence, who is the good Shepherd of the sheep, and doth carry the lambs in His bosom, and gently lead those that are great with young. On no account, therefore, be ye assured, personal to myself as a man, as a minister of Christ, or as a pastor of His people, do I intrude myself upon your meeting this night with this communication; but for your sakes I wait, even for yours, who are, every one of you, dear to my heart. Bear with me, then, the more patiently, seeing it is for your sakes I take up my pen to write.

"I do you solemnly to wit, men and brethren, before Almighty God, the heart-searcher, that whosoever lifteth a finger against the work which is proceeding in the Church of Christ under my pastoral care, is rising up against the Holy Ghost; and I warn him, even with tears, to beware and stand back, for he will assuredly bring upon himself the wrath and indignation of the God of heaven and earth, if he dare to go forward. Many months of most painstaking and searching observation, the most varied proofs of every kind, taken with all the skill and circumspection which the Lord hath bestowed upon me; the substance of the doctrine, the character of the Spirit, and the form and circumstances of the utterances tried by the Holy Scriptures, and whatever remains most venerable in the traditions of the Church; the present power and penetration of the Word spoken, over the souls of the most holy persons, with the abiding effects of edification upon hundreds who have come under my own personal knowledge; the nature of the opposition which, from a hundred quarters, most of them entirely indifferent, infidel, and atheistical, hath arisen against it, together with the effects which the opposition hath had upon the minds of honest and good persons who have stumbled at it; their haste and headiness; their unrest and trouble of mind; the attempt of Satan, by mimicry of the work, and thrusting in upon it of seduction and devil-possessed persons to mar it, and the jealous holiness with which God hath detected all these attempts, and watched over His own work to keep it from intermixture and pollution; and above all, the testimony of the Holy Ghost in my own conscience, as a man serving God with my house-

the discernment of the same Holy Ghost in me as a minister over His truth and watchman over His people;—all these, and many other things, which I am not careful to set out in order, or at large, seeing the time for argument is gone by, and the time for delivering a man's soul is come, do leave not a shadow of doubt on my mind, that the work which hath begun under the roof of our sanctuary, and which many of you are taking steps to prevent from proceeding there, is the WORK of God—is verily the MIGHTY WORK of God, the most sacred work of the Holy Ghost; which to blaspheme, is to blaspheme the Holy Ghost; which to act against, is to act against the Holy Ghost. This is the guilt of the action you are proceeding in; whether there be sufficient cause for bringing down such a load upon your heads, dearly-beloved brethren, judge ye. For my part, I would rather, were I a trustee, lose all my property ten times told than move a finger in hinderance of this great work of God, which God calleth on you to further by all means in your power, and to abide the consequences of a prosecution, yea, all consequences between life and death, rather than hinder. Oh, 'what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul; or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?'

"You have determined to lodge a complaint against me to the London Presbytery, for no immorality of conduct, for no neglect of duty, for no breach of good faith, for no change of ordinance proper to the Church of Scotland, for no departure from the constitution of the Church of Scotland, for no cause, in point of fact, which was or could have been contemplated in the formation of the trust-deed, but simply and solely because God, in His great love and mercy, hath restored the gifts of Providence to the church under my care, and I, the responsible minister under Christ, being convinced thereof, have taken it upon me to order it according to the mind and will of Christ, the only Head and Potentate of His Church, as the same is expressed in the Holy Scriptures. I ask ye before God, and as ye shall answer at the great day, if the trust-deed could have been intended to prevent the spiritual gifts from ever being exercised within the building, or from being ordered according to the word of God? May I

go further, and ask whether the constitution of the Church of Scotland, or of any church, could be intended to keep the voice of Jesus from being heard, as heretofore it was wont to be, within the assemblies of His people? Oh, beloved brethren, how can you find it in your hearts to complain against one who hath been so faithful amongst you to declare the whole counsel of God, and to do everything by night and by day for the good of the flock and of all men, merely because he hath been faithful to his Lord, as well as to the people of the Lord, and would not by a mountain of opposition be daunted from acknowledging the work and walking by the counsel of his God? I beseech you to search your hearts, and examine how much of this complaint ariseth from a desire to do your duty as trustees, how much from dislike and opposition to the work, from the influence of the popular stream, and the fear of the popular odium, from your own pride of heart and unwillingness to examine anything new, from the love of being at ease in Zion, and from other evil causes over which I have a constant jealousy in myself, and in my flock, whom I should love better than myself. I do not judge any one in this matter; but I would be blind indeed if I did not discern the working of these and the like motives of the flesh in many of you, and I would be unfaithful if I did not mention them. I fear lest I may have been unfaithful in time past; if so, God forgive me, and do you forgive me, and take this as the last and complete expression of my love to all of you. Oh, my brethren, take time and think what tenant may be expected to come and take up his abode in that house from which the Holy Ghost hath been cast forth! It will never prosper or come to any good until it hath been cleansed from this abomination by sore and sorrowful repentance. How can you make a fashion of calling it a house of praise or prayer any longer, after having banished forth of it the voice of Jesus lifted up in the midst of the church of His saints, which is the temple of the Holy Ghost? Surely disappointment and defeat will rest upon it for ever. God will not bless it; the servants of God will flee away from it; it will stand a monument of folly and infatuation. Nay, so much hath the Lord made me to perceive the in-

iquity of this thing, that I believe it will bring down judgment upon all who take part in it, upon their houses, upon the city itself in which the National Scotch Church hath been a lamp, yea, and a light unto the whole land, and to the distant parts of the earth. Oh, my brethren, retrace your steps, leave this work in the hands of the Lord. Come forward and confess your sin in having thought or spoken evil against it. Come to the help of God against the mighty. I beseech you to hear my words. They have been written with prayer and fasting; and when I read them over about an hour ago in the hearing of one gifted with the Spirit, that the Lord, if He saw good, might express His mind, the consequences which he denounced upon the doing of this act were frightful to hear. I had little thought of mentioning this to any one, but it seemeth to be not right to hide it in my own breast. If you desire, dear brethren, any personal communication with me upon this awful subject, I beseech you to send for me, and I will be at your call; for I could stand to be tortured from head to foot, rather than any one of you should go forward in such an undertaking, as to prevent the voice of God from being heard in any house over which you have any jurisdiction.

"May the Lord preserve you from all evil, and lead you in the way of His own blessed will! Amen, and Amen!

"Your faithful and loving pastor and friend,

"EDWD. IRVING."

This wonderful letter proves over again, if more proof were needed, how impossible it was for Irving to open his mouth without unfolding his very heart and soul.

The trustees of the church received this impassioned appeal, knowing better than any other men how true were those assertions of his own purity and faithfulness to which Irving was driven; but with such an address in their hands went forward, calmly, to the Presbytery, and presented the complaint, which he marvels, with grieved surprise and wounded affection, how they could

"find it in their heart" to prefer against him. This complaint, which begins by setting forth the character of the trust-deed, and the rigid particularity with which it had bound the Regent Square church to the worship of the Church of Scotland, finally settles into five charges against the minister. Perhaps it was in tenderness for him that every hint of divergence in doctrine, or even of extravagance in belief, was kept back from this strange indictment; but it is impossible to read, without wonder, those charges upon which the existence of a congregation, and the position of a man so notable and honoured, now depended. They are as follows:—

"*First.*—That the Rev. Edward Irving has suffered and permitted, and still allows, the public services of the church in the worship of God, on the Sabbath and other days, to be interrupted by persons not being either ministers or licentiates of the Church of Scotland.

"*Second.*—That the said Rev. Edward Irving has suffered and permitted, and still allows, the public services of the said church, in the worship of God, to be interrupted by persons not being either members or seatholders of the said church.

"*Third.*—That the said Rev. E. Irving has suffered and permitted, and also publicly encourages, females to speak in the same church, and to interrupt and disturb the public worship of God in the church on Sabbath and other days.

"*Fourth.*—That the said Rev. E. Irving hath suffered and permitted, and also publicly encourages, other individuals, members of the said church, to interrupt and disturb the public worship of God in the church on Sabbath and other days.

"*Fifth.*—That the said Rev. E. Irving, for the purpose of encouraging and exciting the said interruptions, has appointed times when a suspension of the usual worship in the said church takes place, for said persons to exercise the supposed gifts with which they profess to be endowed."

After all the agitation and excitement, after the sorrowful struggle which had just come to an end, and all the depths of feeling and suffering involved; this bald statement comes with all the effect of an anti-climax upon the interested spectator. Was this, then, all?—these mere matters of fact—this breach of common regulation and decorum? Was this important enough to call for all the formal paraphernalia of law—the reverend bench of judges—the witnesses and examinations—the pleas of accuser and defender? The court, we may be sure, had no mind to confine itself to the mere proof of charges so trifling in themselves. A month after the presentation of this indictment, the Presbytery assembled for "the hearing of parties." There were present six ministers and three elders; and the place of meeting was the old Scotch Church in London Wall. With that odd simulation of legal forms, and affectation of scrupulous rule and precedent, joined to all the irregularities of a household examination, which characterise a Presbyterian Church Court in a country where Presbyterianism has no acknowledged authority, and where the unrecognised tribunal is without professional guidance, the judges took their places, and the process began. A Mr. Mann, one of the trustees, appeared for the complainers; Irving stood by himself on his defence—Mr. Cardale, a solicitor, accompanying him, and making what hopeless attempts he could, now and then, to recall the precautions of a court of justice to the recollection of the assembly. The witnesses called by the complainers were three of Irving's closest supporters; one, a "gifted person," who had himself taken a very decided part in the "interruptions"

which he was called to prove. Thus, with wonderful and apparently causeless cruelty, in very strange contrast to the consideration they had hitherto shown him, his opponents contrived his downfall by the hands of those who not only believed with him, but one of whom had been an actual instrument of his peril.

On this same eventful April morning, before coming with those three witnesses, whom a common faith made his natural defenders, but whom the selection of his adversaries had chosen to substantiate their case against him, to the court where he was to take his place at the bar, a still more cruel and and utterly unexpected blow fell upon Irving. He who, of all the prophetic speakers, had spoken with most boldness, and claimed the highest authority; he who, "in the power," had expounded the most mysterious prophecies of the Apocalypse, and pronounced the very limit of time, the three years and a half which were to elapse before the witnesses were received up to heaven; he whose utterances only a month or two before, Irving, in all the assurance of utter trust, had sent to his friends that they too might be edified and triumph in the light which God was giving to his Church; Robert Baxter came suddenly up from Yorkshire to intimate the total downfall of his own pretensions, and to disown the inspiration of which so short a time before he had convinced the troubled pastor, who for that once found it "hard" to believe. "I reached him on the morning of his appearance before the Presbytery of London," writes this penitent, apparently as impetuous and absolute in his renunciation as in his former claims. "Calling him and Mr. J. Cardale apart, I told them

my conviction that we had all been speaking by a lying spirit, and not by the Spirit of God." A most startling and grievous preface to the defence which was that day to be made. The little group went doubtless with troubled souls to that encounter, knowing well how strong a point this would be for their opponents, and themselves dismayed and brought to a sudden stand-still by a desertion so unlooked for. Had Irving's heart been discourageable, or his faith less than a matter of life and death, such a blow, falling at such a time, might well have disabled him altogether. There is no trace that it had any effect upon him on that important day. When they had reached London Wall, and the Moderator of the Presbytery was opening the sitting with prayer, a message suddenly burst, with echoing preface of the "tongue," from one of the three witnesses. Perhaps it comforted that heart torn with many sorrows, which, when needing so emphatically all its strength, had been subject to so overwhelming a discouragement. At all events, it was with dignity and steadfastness unbroken that Irving met the harassing and irritating process which now opened. As an example of the manner in which this so-called trial was conducted, I quote a passage here and there from the report:—

"The first witness called was Mr. Mackenzie.*

"*Mr. Mann* (the spokesman of the complainers): You are an elder of the National Scotch Church?

"I am.—A jurat proof of oath before a Master in Chancery was here put in.

* This gentleman was the only elder who entirely sympathised with Irving, and went with him when shut out from Regent Square.

"You were an elder of the church prior to October 1831?—Yes; I was.

"Will you, to save the time of the Presbytery, detail some of those exhibitions which you witnessed in the Scotch Church, betwixt November and March last?

"*Moderator:* That is too leading a question. You may ask if he has witnessed anything in the Church which is a breach of order prior to that date.

"*Mr. Mann:* I admit this is not right, but I ask him the detail of the proceedings, and the persons concerned in them. If he declines, I will put the question *seriatim.* — To the witness: Detail the occurrences different from ordinary worship prior to that time, if any?—There have certainly occurrences taken place in the Church since the period stated which had not taken place in the Church before.

"State what they are? — Certain persons have spoken who had never spoken in the Church before."

A detailed account of the persons who had thus spoken was then drawn from the witness, along with the fact that interruptions of the worship, consisting of objections to points of doctrine, made by strangers, had occurred previous to October, 1831, and been promptly put down. The examination then proceeded.

"*Moderator:* Do any members of the Court wish to put questions to the witness?

"*Mr. Maclean:* Pray, Moderator, will you allow me to ask whether the witness considers, from what he had previously heard there, that there were new doctrines taught?

"*Solicitor:* I object to the question: this is not an examination into Mr. Irving's doctrines.

"*Moderator:* It is a valid objection.

"Mr. Miller questioned this opinion, and pressed the question. Mr. Maclean waived it.

"*Moderator:* I wish to put one other question. You have alluded to interruptions that have taken place as being objections to the doctrines taught at the time. Now you are a party on oath; has there ever been declared in that Church a

connection between that doctrine and the manifestations in question? — I do not perceive the connection of that question with the previous question. It was a stranger that objected to the doctrine.

"*Moderator*: Have you heard the manifestations adduced as a support to that doctrine? — I do not recollect what the doctrine was that was objected to, so I cannot answer your question, Sir."

After much more of the same loose and confused interrogations, Irving, doubtless as informal as his judges, himself took the witness in hand; and by means of broadly suggestive questions established their concurrence of belief that the interruptions complained of were utterances not "made by the persons themselves," but "in the strength and by the power of the Holy Ghost." He then proceeded to ask, "So far as you have been able to search, does it agree with the things written in the Scripture or not?" when immediately a tumult of opposition arose. The Moderator interfered at once to declare the question irregular — as no doubt, under any pretence of adherence to legal forms, it was. The objection of the Presbyterial president, however, was not that the witness's opinion was asked where only his evidence as to matters of fact was admissible, but that the matter in dispute was not whether these "interruptions" were according to Scripture, but whether they were in accordance with the standards of the Church. A hot but brief discussion followed, in which, with a courage for which they certainly deserve credit, every clerical member of the court declared, individually, in opposition to Irving's protest, that "the rev. defender was quite out of order in appealing to the Scriptures," and that "the question was not the Word

of God, but the trust-deed and the doctrines of the Church of Scotland." This matter being settled, the business proceeded, and the second witness, Mr. Taplin, one of the "gifted persons," who had already given practical evidence on the subject by the utterance with which he had interrupted the opening prayer, was called. After eliciting from this witness the fact of his own frequent exercise of the prophetic gift, and that he had been once reproved by "a sister" for speaking by "a spirit of error," the following questions were put:—

"*Mr. Mann:* When you have thus spoken, has it been during the public service of the Church on Sunday?—I do not remember ever speaking but once on the Sunday.

"Was that during the service?—It was at the close of Mr. Irving's sermon."

The Moderator now interposed with what seems, considering the transparent and candid character of the accused, an inconceivable insinuation.

"Now, Sir," said this Christian judge, "was it not *by a previous arrangement with Mr. Irving* that you then spoke?" The amazed witness answered with natural indignation,—"Do you think, Sir, we stand before you knaves? I should have abhorred the idea of it. I could not have entered into such an arrangement had Mr. Irving been willing; but I believe his heart is too pure to have been a party to such a proceeding."

"Was there not an arrangement that the speaking should not take place till after the sermon?—I understand you to ask if it was by concert or private arrangement previously entered into, whereas the arrangement was made some time afterwards.

"By this answer now given, the witness recognises an arrangement to have been afterwards entered into? — The arrangement was not made with the gifted persons; it was Mr. Irving's own order; and in making it he never consulted with us; and when I heard of it afterwards, I said in my heart, Will he set bounds to the Spirit? Will the Spirit of the Lord submit to speak when he pleaseth?

"*Mr. Irving:* For the honour of a Christian minister, I must say one word here. I made an order that the speaking should be permitted after the service, because I did not wish to agitate the feelings of the congregation; I was desirous of feeling my way tenderly towards them, and yet not to prevent the Spirit speaking at other times.

"*Moderator:* Did you hear any conversation anywhere respecting the revival of these gifts before you exercised them? — I heard Mr. Irving, I believe, first teach that he saw no reason why the gifts of the Spirit should have been withdrawn from the Church; and I was led by that, and hearing of their revival in Scotland, to read the Scriptures for myself on the subject; and I found in the last chapter of Mark, the Lord had promised 'that signs should follow them that believe;' and I thought, What is a Church, or the authority of a Church, if it set aside the plain promise of Scripture?"

To this explanation the Moderator replies significantly, "Sir, you have answered quite enough," and proceeds to pursue the question, which it will be apparent has no connection whatever with the matter-of-fact complaint in proof of which the witness was examined, into further metaphysical depths.

"Do you consider that all persons not having these manifestations in themselves, have not the seal of faith? — I cannot answer that question.

"I ask you in the sight of God, upon your oath.

"*Mr. Irving:* It is a deep theological question, which I could not answer myself; he means not that he will not answer it, but that he is not competent to answer it.

"*Mr. Taplin:* I read that these signs shall follow them that believe; and although I have not a positive conviction, I am inclined to believe that persons may have the seal of faith who have not received these gifts.

"*Moderator:* Proceeding on this answer, that persons may have the seal of faith without these extraordinary gifts, I ask you whether it is just to condemn any Church or any one who does not believe them? — Do I condemn any one? — or have I condemned any man?

"*Mr. Miller:* I object to such a question.

"*Mr. Irving:* The witness has only deposed that I said they were in error on that subject.

"*Mr. Mann:* Were the exhibitions of tongues in the Church, by you and others, similar to the exhibition you made this morning? — It was no exhibition, and I will not answer the question if you use that word.

"Well, display then? — It was no display, Sir.

"Well, manifestations, as you call them; for I do not admit them to be of the Spirit of God; I call them an outrage on decency. (General disapprobation, with cries of order.)—I shall not answer your question.

"Well, I will put it in a different form: Were the manifestations in the Church, by you and others, similar to that we heard this morning? — Our gifts differ in some respects, although they are similar in kind. We speak each a different tongue.

"Did you understand what you spoke this morning? — I understood the English.

"*Mr. Maclean:* I object to the question.

"*Solicitor:* Such questions, I submit, have nothing to do with the subject."

Such questions, however, continue to be put for some time longer, the witness being required to declare whether he believes these manifestations to be of the Spirit of God; whether he believes them in accordance with the standards of the Church; whether he would ever have been impelled to speak had not

Irving prayed for the gifts; whether he did not believe his own utterances to be of higher authority than Irving's preaching; and finally, by a dexterous side wind, whether any of these utterances "referred to the humanity of our blessed Lord." This new question, altogether alien to the inquiry, and which the Presbytery were perfectly well known to have publicly concluded upon long before, was however reserved for the next witness, Mr. Ker, a deacon of the National Scotch Church, and devoted adherent of Irving, concurring with him in all his belief. His examination, after a few questions as to points of fact, was conducted by the Presbytery, who proceeded to ask him whether he had heard various matters of doctrine, in the first place the second coming of Christ and the millennial reign, confirmed by the gifted persons as the message of the Spirit.

"*Solicitor:* I object to such questions as irrelevant.

"*Mr. Irving:* Although my solicitor considers the question irrelevant, I desire that all technical objections may be waived; and whatever tends to bring out what I have taught, let it be promulgated to the world. I desire no concealment or reserve in respect to my doctrine."

Upon which the examination proceeded:—

"Have you heard such a statement as this,—That Christ's humanity was fallen and corrupt humanity. — I have heard it declared that His flesh was fallen.

"*Mr. Maclean, to the clerk noting the evidence:* He has heard it declared that our Lord's flesh was fallen and corrupt.

"Mr. Irving instantly rose and said, He has not said any such word, Sir, as corrupt; why will you make additions of your own to the evidence?

"*The Witness to Mr. Maclean:* I did not say corrupt; the addition of one such word will alter the whole meaning.

A multitude of other questions follow, in which it is endeavoured to drive the witness to a declaration that the fact of these manifestations sealed as perfect every word taught in the Church,—a statement from which, however, he guarded himself. When this was over, the examination relaxed into a generosity as irrelevant and out of order as the inquisition which preceded it.

"In case we may not have got the whole truth of this case," said the president of the court, with a blandness which, followed as it was by renewed questions, looks quite as much like an attempt to entrap the unwary speaker into some rash admission, as to extend to him a grace and privilege, "is there anything which you wish to add in exoneration of your minister?"

"I thank you, Sir," answered the surprised witness, with a kind and anxious simplicity most characteristic of the man, and which his friends will readily recognise. "I would only say, that I believe nothing could be so painful to Mr. Irving as that any one should interrupt the public services of the Church, except those persons through whom the Holy Ghost speaks."

A renewed flood of questions as to who is to be the judge whether the Holy Ghost speaks, &c., &c., followed this affectionate and natural speech, and the whole concluded with a return to the question of doctrine.

"*Mr. Macdonald:* It has been said that the doctrine taught respecting the Lord's humanity is that He came n

fallen flesh; has the witness said that the manifestations commended this doctrine particularly?—Yes.

"*Moderator:* Have the complainers finished their case?

"*Mr. Mann:* We have.

"The court was then adjourned till next day at eleven o'clock."

This was the entire amount of evidence taken. Some time after, the *Times*, taking the trouble to interfere in an elaborate leading article, congratulated the public that, after a "laborious investigation," the Presbytery had decided unanimously. This one day, however, of theological fence, varied with such occasional insolences as few men endowed with the temporary power of cross-examination seem able to deny themselves, is the total amount of the inquiry so ostentatiously described. Had the reverend judges confined themselves to the real evidence which the complaint demanded, their sitting need not have lasted above an hour or two; but the greater part of the day engaged in this "laborious investigation" was occupied with personal inquisition into the thoughts and opinions of the three witnesses, which had no bearing whatever upon the case. So easy is it to give with a word a totally false impression even of a contemporary event. I need not draw attention to the very peculiar character of the evidence, which must strike every one in the least degree interested. The three witnesses thus examined upon oath proved, so far as a man's solemn asseveration can, not that unlawful and riotous interruptions had taken place in the Regent Square church, but that the Holy Ghost had there spoken with demonstration and power. This was the real evidence

elicited by the day's examination. Nobody attempted to impeach the men, or declare them unworthy of ordinary credit; and this was the point which, according to the common principles of evidence, they united to establish. I cannot tell what might be the motive of the complainants for keeping back all who held their own view of the question, and resting their case solely upon the testimony of believers in the gifts; but the fact is apparent enough, and one of the most strange features of the transaction, that the witnesses, upon whom no imputation of falsehood was cast, consistently and solemnly agreed in proving an hypothesis which the court that received their testimony, and professed to be guided by their evidence, not only negatived summarily, but even refused to take into consideration.*

From this day's work, anxious and harassing as it naturally must have been to him, Irving went home, not to rest, or refresh among his loyal supporters the spirit which was grieved with the antagonism of his former

* I can scarcely express the painful surprise with which, born a Presbyterian, and accustomed to regard with affectionate admiration, scarcely less than that which animated Irving himself during almost all his life, the economy of the Church of Scotland, I have discovered, and the reluctance with which I have felt myself constrained to point out, the singular heedlessness, haste, and unfairness of these Presbyterial investigations. The discovery was as novel and as painful to me, who have in former days been very confident on the other side of the question, as it can be to the most devoted lover of Presbyterian discipline and order. I cannot allow, even now, that it is necessary to the system, which is surely capable of better things; but that the Presbytery of London were not singular in their manner of exercising their judicial functions, is proved by the voluminous proceedings of the Presbyteries of Dunbarton and Irvine in the cases of Messrs. Campbell and Maclean.

brethren, but to meet with Mr. Baxter, and to be assailed by that gentleman's eager argument to prove himself in the wrong, and attempts to overthrow the fabric which he had done so much to bring into being. "I saw him again in the evening, and on the succeeding morning I endeavoured to convince him of his error of doctrine, and of our delusions concerning the work of the Spirit," says the prophet, so suddenly disenchanted, and so vehement in his abrupt recantation, "but he was so shut up, he could not see either." This evening and morning, which were vexed by Mr. Baxter's arguments, might well have been spared to the all-labouring man, who was now to appear for himself at the bar of the Presbytery, and make, before the curious world which watched the proceedings in that obscure Scotch church at London Wall, his defence and self-vindication. Fresh from the endeavours of Mr. Baxter to convince him that the most cherished belief of his heart was a delusion, Irving once more took his way through the toiling city in the April sunshine, which beguiles even London into spring looks and hopes. Little sunshine, only a lofty constancy and steadfast composure of faith was in his heart—that heart which had throbbed with so many heroic hopes and knightly projects under those same uncertain skies. Another of the "gifted," who had woven so close a circle round him, had just then lost heart, and wavered like Baxter in her faith. With such discouragements in his way, and with all the suggestions of self-interest (so far as he was capable of them), and a hundred more delicate appeals, reminders of old affection and tender habitude, to hold him back to the old paths, he went to the bar of the Presbytery. The

speech he was to make to-day must tear asunder, in irrevocable disruption, the little remnant of life which remained to him from all the splendid past—must throw him into a new world, strange to all his associations, unacquainted with those ways of thought and habit he was born in, totally unaware of the extent and bitterness of his sacrifice. That intrusive apparition of the prophet penitent, declaring his own prophetic gift a delusion, makes the strangest climax to the darkness, the pain, and the difficulty of the position. Irving, however, shows no signs of hesitation—betrays no tumult in his mind. His faith was beyond the reach even of such a blow; and, in full possession of all that natural magnificence of diction, noble reality, and power of moving men's hearts, which even his enemies could not resist, he presented himself to make his defence.

This speech, which is a thoroughly characteristic production, I give at length in the Appendix, only indicating here the nature of the argument. After declaring that it is "for the name of Jesus, the Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, that I now stand here before you, and before this court, and before all this people, and am called in question this day," he announces the order according to which he intends to make his explanation:—

First—As I am to justify the thing which I have done, it is needful to show the grounds on which I did it; and to show the grounds on which I did it, it is needful to show the thing in the Word of God, which I believe God has given us. Next—It is needful that I show you that the thing which we have received is the very thing contained in the Word of God, and

held out to the hope and expectation of the Church of God; yea, of every baptized man. Thirdly—That I show you how I have ordered it as minister of the church; and show also that the way in which I have ordered it is according to the Word of God, and in nothing contradictory to the standards of the Church of Scotland. Fourthly—To speak a little concerning the use of the gifts: and, finally, to show how we stand as parties, and how the case stands before this court."

He accordingly proceeds to set forth the scriptural grounds on which, some years before, he had been led to conclude that the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit might be legitimately looked and prayed for; and then coming down to the real course of events, relates, with all his wonderful power of close and minute narrative, the first circumstances of their appearance; his own anxious trying of the spirits; the long and careful investigation to which he subjected them, and the final entire satisfaction and belief of his own mind and of many others. I have quoted so largely from this narrative, in a previous chapter, that it is unnecessary to go over it again; and I proceed to the more personal defence, only pausing to remind the reader of the lofty ingenuousness with which Irving declares his own mind to have been biassed, to begin with, by his perfect conviction that God — from whom he and his disciples had daily, with an absolute sincerity and fervour of which the leader of these entreaties has no doubt, asked the baptism with the Holy Ghost—would not give them a stone instead of bread. He then enters into a lofty vindication of his own office and authority :—

"It is complained by the trustees . . . . that I have allowed the worship of God to be interrupted by persons

speaking who are neither ordained ministers nor licentiates of the Church of Scotland. Now, respecting the ordering of it, which is here complained against as a violation of the trust-deed, and a violation of the constitution of the Church of Scotland, I can say, with the Apostle Paul, when he went to Rome to his countrymen — 'That unto this day not only have I done nothing contrary to the word of God; but, men and brethren, I have done nothing against the people or the customs of our fathers.' I lay it down as a solemn principle that as a minister of Christ I am responsible to Him at every instant, in every act of my ministerial character and conduct, and owe to Him alone an undivided allegiance; and I say more, that every man is responsible to Jesus at every instant of his life, and for every act of his life, and not to another, in an undivided allegiance. He is the Head of every man, and upon this it is that the authority of conscience resteth; on this it is that toleration resteth; on this it is that all the privileges of man rest; that Jesus is the Head of every man; and this is His inalienable prerogative. . . . . And if any person or court, or the Pope of Rome, or any court in Christendom, come between a man, or a minister, and his Master, and say, 'Before obeying Jesus, you must consult us,' be they called by what name they please, they are Antichrist. I say no Protestant Church hath ever done so. I deny the doctrine that was held forth yesterday *, that it is needful for a minister to go to the General Assembly before he does his duty. I deny the doctrine that he can be required to go up to the General Assembly for authority to enable him to do that which he discerneth to be his duty.

"*Moderator:* Let these words be taken down.

"*Mr. Irving:* Aye, take them down — take them down! I repeat the words: *I deny it to be the doctrine of the*

* This refers to a statement made by the Moderator, that in case of any new development of doctrine unprovided for in the standards, the constitutional mode of procedure for a Scotch minister was to call the attention of the General Assembly to it by means of an overture from his own Presbytery. I despair of making the phraseology of Scotch Church courts intelligible to English readers.

Church of Scotland that any minister is required to go up to the General Assembly for authority to do that which he discerneth to be his duty. Ye are pledged to serve Jesus in your ordination vows. Ye are the ministers of Jesus, and not ministers of any assembly: ye are ministers of the Word of God, and not ministers of the standards of any Church."

He then explains the "arrangements" he had made to allow room for the utterances, which had been largely commented on, partly by way of showing that he had encouraged the interruptions, and partly that, taking his own view of the subject, he had himself, in some measure, been guilty of limiting the Spirit.

"It is charged that I appointed set times for the suspension of the worship in order to encourage and allow these interruptions. This needs a little explanation. When I saw it was my duty to take the ordinance into the church, I then considered with myself what was the way to do it with the greatest tenderness to my flock—so as to cause the least anxiety and disturbance. . . . . I observed, therefore, what was the manner of the Spirit in the morning meetings, and I found generally it was the manner of the Spirit when I, the pastor, had exhorted the people, to add something to the exhortation, either to enforce it, if it were according to the mind of God, or to add to it, or graciously and gently to correct it if it were incorrect. I also observed it was the way of the Spirit not to do this generally, but in honour of the pastor; and that the spirits in the prophets acknowledged the office of the angel of the Church as standing for Jesus; and accordingly I said, wishing to deal tenderly with the flock, let it begin with this order, that after I have opened * the chapter, and after I have preached, I will pause a little, so that then the prophets may have an opportunity of prophesying if the Spirit should come upon them; but I never said that

* Meaning, in other words, expounded the lesson.

the prophets should not prophesy at any other time. I did this in tenderness to the people; and feeling my way in a case where I had no guidance, I did it according to the best records of ecclesiastical antiquity; and I was at great pains to consult the best records: and I found Mosheim, in his most learned dissertation on Church history, declare to this effect—that in the first three ages of the Church, it was the custom, after the pastor had exhorted the people, for the congregation to rest, and the prophets prophesied by two or three; so that I walked in the ordinances of the Church of Christ."

He then proceeds to show, with large quotations from the first "Book of Discipline," that a regular "exercise" for "prophesying or interpreting the Scriptures" had been instituted in the early Reformation Church, by which it was provided that learned men, or those that had "somewhat profited in God's Word," should not only be exhorted to meet for joint exposition of the Scriptures according to the Apostolic rule—"Let two or three prophets speak, and let the rest judge"—but that "if found disobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and special graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them:" from which he justly argues, that "if our Church has ruled that in a matter of ordinary gifts there should be liberty given to speak, can any one believe that if the gifts of the Holy Ghost had been in the Church, they would not have ruled it for these extraordinary gifts also?" Then rising into loftier self-vindication as he proceeds, he declares that had there been ordinances of the Church of Scotland forbidding the manifestations (which there were not), he would still have felt it necessary to disobey them in exercise of the higher loyalty which he owed

to the Head of the Church; and winds up this part of his address by the following solemn disavowal:—

"I deny every charge brought against me *seriatim;* and say it is not persons but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in the church. I do not say what the judgment of the Presbytery might be if they could say that these persons do not speak by the Holy Ghost. But this they cannot do. This is what I rest my case upon. This is the root of the matter. This is what I press on the conscience of the Presbytery; and it is laid before them out of the mouths of all the witnesses. The evidence is entirely to this effect, not one witness hath witnessed to the contrary. I say," he proceeds after an interruption, "I submit this matter to the Presbytery, as to a number of men endowed with conscience—with the conscience and discernment of the truth—and who are beholden to exercise their conscientious discernment for the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Head of this court, and the Head of every man, and who are beholden to judge all things according to the law of Jesus Christ, which is the law of this court—the law of every man; and I say that this Presbytery are called upon before the Lord Jesus to see and ascertain whether that thing which I have declared to them upon the veracity of a minister, which is substantiated by the testimony on their table, given by witnesses yesterday, all of their own selection, and which I will pledge myself to authenticate further by the testimony of not less than five hundred persons, of unblemished life and sound faith, that it is the work of the Holy Ghost, speaking with tongues and prophesying. And as all the witnesses have borne one uniform testimony to it as the work of the Holy Ghost, the Presbytery cannot—they may not, before God, before the Lord Jesus Christ, and before all those witnesses, shut their eyes wilfully against such testimony in this matter. . . . . It is instructed before you (surely the Presbytery will not shut its eyes to the evidence on the table) that it is by the Holy Ghost that these persons speak. There is no civil court whatever that would refuse to receive the evidence lying on your table; and you may not as members of a Christian Church—you may not as ministers and elders—

you may not as honest men, turn aside from the matter of fact that has been certified to you, and say, 'We will leave that matter in the background; we will not consider it at all; we will go simply by the canons of the Church of Scotland, and see what they say on the subject.' They say nothing on it, seeing they could say nothing; seeing there was then no such thing in being. . . . . It will be a burdensome thing to this Presbytery, if it shall give judgment against that which hath been instructed before them to be the work of the Holy Ghost, and which none of them can say, on their own conscience or discernment, not to be the Holy Ghost, since they have not come to witness it, they have not attempted to prove it. . . . . Think ye, oh men, if it should be the Holy Ghost, what ye are doing; consider the possibility of it, and be not rash; consider the possibility of the evidence being true, of our averments being right, and see what you are doing! Ah, I tell you, it will be an onerous day for this city and this kingdom, in the which ye do, with a stout heart and a high hand, and without examination or consideration, upon any ground, upon any authority, even though ye had the commandment of the king himself—shut up that house in which the voice of the Holy Ghost is heard—that house in which alone it is heard! . . . I beseech you to pause. . . . . Be wise, men; come and hear for yourselves, when you will have an opportunity of judging. Come and hear for yourselves. The church is open every morning; the Lord is gracious almost every morning to speak to us by His Spirit. The church is open many times in the week; and the Lord is gracious to us, and speaks through His servants very often. . . . . I have no doubt in saying it, and I would be an unfaithful man, pleading not my cause but the cause of God—the cause of Christ—the cause of the Holy Ghost in the Presbytery (for it is not the cause of a man; no, man has no charge against me; I stand unimpeached, unblemished before them), did I not say it. It is only this interruption, this new thing (for it is not an interruption) that hath occurred, which is instructed by the evidence to be the voice of the Holy Ghost, this speaking with tongues and prophesying, which I have declared to be the same, which hath given offence. And I sit down solemnly declaring before you all, before God and

the Lord Jesus Christ, on the faith of a minister of Christ, that I believe it to be the work of the Holy Ghost. . . . ."

This speech, interrupted two or three times by hot discussions and calls to order, was replied to on the same day by Mr. Mann, the spokesman of the trustees, who "considered it his duty to reply to the unseemly and untimely denunciations with which he was bold to say the reverend defender had attempted to stem the torrent of justice." And proceeding in the unequal strife, not content with the manifold disadvantages under which he laboured as opposed to Irving's noble eloquence, this gentleman did all he could to vulgarize and debase the whole question, by contending that it was a question of discipline only, in which the Word of God was no authority; and called upon the reverend defender to bethink himself of the Confession of Faith which he had signed, and as an honest man to separate himself in fact from the Church from which he had already separated in spirit. After this the court adjourned for a week, during the course of which the "reverend defender" thus assailed went on with those labours which one of his friends calls "unexampled," in no way withdrawing from his wonderful exertions, preparing, with all the catechisings and preparatory services usual before a Scotch communion, for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. On the following Wednesday the Presbytery again assembled; and, with a gleam of magnanimity, in consideration of the fact that Irving had no appeal from their decision, but—contrary to Presbyterian usage, which, had he been in Scotland, would have permitted him a double appeal to the Provincial Synod and

General Assembly — must accept their sentence as final, offered him the privilege of answering the speech of Mr. Mann, which he did accordingly in an impassioned and noble oration *, still more intense, because more personal than the former; thrilling with all the indignation, the grief, the faith absolute and immovable, the injured and mournful affection which rent his breast. That there are some passages in this splendid address where the speaker, flushed with palpable injustice, and angry in his righteous heart at the superficial basis on which a question, to himself the most momentous, was thus injuriously set down, delivers himself of warnings too solemn and startling to chime in with the mild phraseology of modern days, is undeniable; but the point on which he insists is so plainly a necessity to any just decision of the matter involved, that few people who consider it seriously will be surprised to find that Irving is betrayed into a certain impatience by the pertinacious determination, shown equally by his accusers and his judges, *not* to enter into the question by which alone the case could be decided. Such a singular and obstinate evasion of the real point at issue, involving as it did all his dearest interests, might well chafe the spirit of the meekest of men; yet he returns again and again with indignant patience to the question which his judges refused to consider.

"If these be the manifestations of the Holy Ghost," he asks, "what court under heaven would dare to interpose and say they shall not be suffered to proceed? Tell me if that body does exist on the face of the earth which would dare to

* See Appendix C.

rule it so if they believed the work to be of the Holy Ghost? Surely not in the Christian Church does such a body exist. Therefore the decision must entirely depend on this: whether it be of the Holy Ghost, or whether it be not of the Holy Ghost. For if it be, who dare gainsay it? Will any one say, if it be of the Holy Ghost, that any rule of discipline or statute of the Church, supposing the statutes were sevenfold strong instead of being none at all—for on this subject the canons of the Church of Scotland are entirely silent—will any one dare to say that if it be the voice of the Holy Ghost, all laws and statutes in which, during the days of her ignorance, the Church might have sought to defend herself against the entering in of the Spirit of God, should be allowed to keep Him out? And is it possible that the Presbytery should shuffle off the burden of this issue, and act upon the assertion made that it is not the matter of doctrine which is to be entered into; the more when the evidence upon the table is unanimous to this point, that it is the voice of the Holy Ghost?"

After this most just protest, he descends to enter the lists with his accusers upon their own ground, and assert that "there is not one word in the standards against the thing I have done;" the fact being that the only reference in those documents, according to the admission of the Presbytery themselves, is a statement in the Westminster Confession, that the "extraordinary" offices of apostle, prophet, &c., had ceased—a statement which the earlier Book of Discipline, the authority of which the Church of Scotland had never repudiated, limits by the more modest suggestion, that "they may be revived if the Lord sees good." After this Irving enters into a most remarkable discussion of the character of the prophetic office, and the possibility of a prophet deceiving himself by attempting to make an arbitrary interpre-

tation of the Divine message he utters; in which he takes as his text the singular utterance of the prophet Jeremiah—"O Lord, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived"—and proceeds to elucidate a character which most of his hearers believed utterly extinct, with all the close and intense observation which distinguished him; and with a lofty, visionary reasonableness which, could the character itself be but granted real and existent, would make this an exposition of high metaphysical value. In the course of this singular and close picture of the prophetic temperament and its perils, he refers in the following terms to Baxter, whose name was by this time discussed everywhere, and whose desertion was the heaviest possible blow in the eyes of the public to the new faith.

"A dear friend of my own," said Irving, coming fresh from that troublesome and impetuous friend's remonstrances and recantation, "who lately spake by the Spirit of God in my church—as all the spiritual of the church fully acknowledged, and almost all acknowledge still—I mean Mr. Baxter, whose name is in everybody's mouth, hath, I believe, been taken in this very snare of endeavouring to interpret by means of a mind remarkably formal in its natural structure the spiritual utterances which he was made to give forth; and perceiving a want of concurrence between the word and the fulfilment, he hastily said, 'It is a lying spirit by which I have spoken.' No lie is of the truth; no prophet is a liar; and if the thing came not to pass, he hath spoken presumptuously. But while this is true, it is equally true that no prophet since the world began has been able to interpret the time, place, manner, and circumstance of the fulfilment of his own utterances. And to Jeremiah thus unwarrantably employing himself, God seemed to be a deceiver and a liar, as the Holy Ghost hath seemed to be to my honoured and beloved friend, whom may the Lord speedily restore again."

The orator then, leaving this mysterious subject—to his exposition of which his audience seems to have listened in rapt silence, probably too much carried away by the strange influence of his faith, and the life-like personality in which he clothed this unbelievable, prophetic ideal, to object—returns to the more personal question, and bursts forth in natural and manful indignation. "I was taxed with dishonesty," he exclaims, "and I was told if I was an honest man I ought to have gone forth of the Church. Let me repress the feeling that riseth in my bosom, while I repel the insinuation; for I must not speak out of the resentment of nature, but out of the charity of grace. *Dishonesty!* if it be such a moot point and simple case of honesty and dishonesty, why trouble they the Presbytery to consider it? . . . It is a great and grave question affecting the rights of the ministers and prophets of the Christian Church; a question of the most deep and sacred importance; a question not of discipline only but of doctrine; and is a question of doctrine and of discipline, and of ordinance and of personal right, to be called a question of common honesty, as if I were a knave?" Then changing, as he could, with the highest intuitions of harmony, the stops of that noble organ, the great preacher falls into the strain of self-exposition, so full of simple grandeur, with which he was wont to reveal the working of his own candid soul and tender heart.

"This is a temptation which has come over my brethren, arising from their loose and unholy way of thinking and speaking upon this subject, as if it were a common bargain between the trustees upon the one hand and myself upon the

other. I would it had been such; neither they nor you would have been troubled with it this day. For the world is wide, and the English tongue is widely diffused over it; and I am used to live by faith, and love my calling as a preacher of the Gospel as well as I do my calling of a pastor. I also have been tempted with the like temptation of making this a matter of personal feeling. One whole day I remember, before meeting the elders and deacons of my church, upon the first breaking out of this matter, I abode in the mind of giving way to my own feelings, and saying to them, 'Brethren, we have abidden now for so many years in love and unity, never, or hardly once, dividing on any question, that rather than cause divisions which I see cannot be avoided, I will take my leave of you, and betake myself to other quarters and other labours in the Church. And do you seek out for some one to come and stand in my room, to go in and out before this great people, and rule over them, for I can no longer be faithful to God, and preserve the body in peace and unity. I cannot find in my heart to grieve you; let me alone and entreat me not; I will go and preach the Gospel in other parts, whither God may call me.' In this mood, which these men* would call honest and honourable—which I call selfish and treacherous to my Lord and Master—I did abide for the greater part of the most important day of my life, whereof the evening was to determine this great question; but the Lord showed me before the hour came—He showed me, with whom alone I took counsel in the secret place of my own heart, that I was not a private man to do what liked me best, but the pastor of a church, to consider their well-being, and the minister of Christ, to whom I must render an account of my stewardship. I put away the temptation, and went up in the strength of the Lord to contend with the men whom I

* In justice to the speaker on the other side, it ought however to be noted here that Irving seems to have mistaken his meaning, which I presume to be the ordinary, arbitrary, and easy conclusion, that when a clergyman expands or alters his views, so as under any interpretation to vary from the laws of his Church, scrupulous honour would dictate his withdrawal from its communion; a notion very specious upon the face of it.

loved as my own bowels; and to tell them, face to face, that I would displease every one of them, yea, and hate every one of them if need should be, rather than flinch an iota from my firm and rooted purpose to live and die for Jesus. God only knows the great searchings of heart that there have been within me for the divisions of the Kirk-session and flock of the National Scotch Church. But they have rooted and grounded me in my standing as a pastor, which I had understood but never practised before, and in the subordinate standing of an elder, which is very little understood in the Church of Scotland whereof I am a minister. And they have knit me to my flock in a bond which cannot be broken until God do break it. I preferred my duty as a pastor to my feelings as a man, and abode in my place. And what hath the faithfulness and bounty of my God yet done? Within six months thereafter, by the preaching of the Word and the witness of the Spirit, there were added two hundred members to the Church; not a few of whom were converted from the depths of immorality and vice to become holy and God-fearing men; and as I sat yesterday in my vestry for nearly five hours examining applicants for the liberty of sitting down with my contemned and rejected church, I thought within myself, 'Ah! it was good thou stoodest here in the place where the Lord had planted thee, and wentest not forth from hence at the bidding of thine own troubled heart. Behold what a harvest God hath given thee in this time of shaking! Wait on thy Lord, and be of good courage; commit thy way unto Him; trust also in Him, and He will bring it to pass.' These were my thoughts, I do assure you, no farther gone than yesterday, when I sat wearied out with the number and weight of the cases which were brought before me in my pastoral vocation. And for your encouragement, ye ministers of Christ who sit here in judgment, that ye may labour with good hope in this city, through good report and through bad report, and that ye may not put your hands rashly upon the man of God, I do give you to wit that by my labours in this city, not hundreds but thousands, at least upwards of a thousand, have been converted by my minstry; and I feel an assurance that, let men do their utmost to prevent it, thousands more will yet by the same feeble and

worthless instrument be brought into the fold of the Father, out of which no power shall be able to pluck them. I have no bargain with these trustees. I am not their pensioner, nor bound to them by any obligation, nor indebted to them in any matter, that they should charge dishonesty upon me. I am another man's servant, another man's debtor. . . . If this deed to which they have obliged themselves, compel them to raise an action against me before this Presbytery, then let them do it, and leave the issue to the competent judges; but do not let them dare to accuse their minister as a dishonest man, because he sees it his duty to his Master to abide where his Master hath placed him, and where he hath offended neither against the ordinances of God nor the covenants of man."

Thus, in his most characteristic strain, did Irving make his defence; not without frequent reference to the great point of the first day's proceedings, which was the refusal of the Presbytery to permit his appeal to the Scriptures, a resolution against which he entered his solemn protest, but which his judges, with many little interruptions of self-vindication, adhered to. When his speech was concluded, he withdrew with an apology to the Presbytery for his inability to be present at their decisive meeting, which was to take place the same evening, as he had to preach that night. Before he left the court, however, Mr. Mann, the spokesman of the trustees, who had vainly begged to be heard in reply, assailed the much-tried defender with another arrow. One of the prophetesses, a Miss Hall, about whom I can find no details, had, like Baxter, accused herself of delusion.

"Does Mr. Irving consider he has acted fairly and honestly by the Presbytery," said his accuser, who seems to have lost

in the heat of conflict the affectionate and reverential feelings which all entertained towards the great preacher before this actual antagonism with its angry impulses commenced, "in not acknowledging to them that Miss Hall has been acting under delusion?

"*The Moderator:* That is not before the court.

"*Mr. Irving:* She is one of the lambs of my flock — she is carried in my bosom. Oh, she is one of the lambs of my flock! and shall I bring one of the lambs of my flock, who may have been deluded and led astray, before a public court? Never — never, while I have a pastor's heart!"

This exclamation of natural feeling moved the general audience out of propriety. It was received with involuntary applause, which seems to have led to the immediate adjournment of the offended court.

In the evening the Presbytery met again to determine upon their sentence — a sentence on the nature of which nobody could have any doubt, if it were not the generous soul of the accused himself, who "could not endure to think" that they would decide against him. Five clerical members of the court spoke one after another, announcing with such solemnity as they could their several but unanimous conclusion. I have no desire to represent these men as judging unfairly, or as acting in this new matter upon their own well-known prior conclusions. But the fact is remarkable in a country so familiar as ours with all the caution and minute research of law, that the judgment of this Presbytery, involving as it did, not only the highest privileges of Christian freedom, but practical matters of property and income, uttered itself in the shape of so many opinions, as loose, slight, and irregular as might be the oracles of a fireside

conclave. Instead of close and cool examination of those canons of the Church to which they had demonstrated their allegiance with protestations unnecessarily vehement, their only appeal to law consisted of one or two cursory quotations which bore only superficially upon the subject. "The public worship being begun," says one of the judges, quoting from the *Directory for Public Worship*, "the people are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read anything, except what the minister is then reading or citing; and abstaining much more from all private whisperings, conference, &c., and other indecent behaviour which may disturb the minister or people, or hinder themselves or others in the service of God." Another announces the ground of his decision in the words of the Westminster Confession, that "the whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture, unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men." A third cites the statement of the same Confession, that "the Holy Scripture is most necessary, *those former ways*" (*i.e.* direct revelations), "*of God's revealing His will to His people being now ceased;*" and another from the *Directory of Public Worship*, to the effect that the extraordinary offices of apostles, prophets, and evangelists *have ceased.* These slight quotations constitute the entire reference made to the canons of ecclesiastical law in order to settle a matter so important. To people who are accustomed to see the columns of newspapers filled day after day

with close, lengthened, and it may be tedious arguments concerning the true meaning of the articles of the Church, it will be almost inconceivable that any decision, bearing weight in law, could be come to upon grounds so trivial: yet such was the case; and the extraordinary recklessness which could stake an honourable man's character and position upon the opinions or impressions of a group of fellow-clergymen, supported by the merest shreds of quotation from those articles by which, and by which alone they professed to be guided, has never, so far as I am aware, been so much as remarked by the community most interested. If he was to be judged by the standards of the Church it must be apparent to every one that the merest superficial rules of justice required a close examination of those standards, a patient and detailed scrutiny, care being had to arrive at the true meaning, and to put aside the individual and local circumstances which so evidently and avowedly colour those productions of a belligerent age. Nothing can be more evident, for example, than that the extract from the *Directory* above quoted, refers simply to the irreverent behaviour in church of a half enlightened people, and is entirely innocent of any allusion to utterances of either real or pretended inspiration; and few people will imagine that, apart from other evidence, the declaration of the Westminster divines that "those former ways of God's revealing His will to His people have now ceased," could either finally settle the question, or was ever intended by those very divines themselves to settle it. The Presbytery decided that to suffer unauthorised persons to speak in the Church was a capital offence against the laws of the

Church of Scotland, in direct opposition to those directions quoted by Irving for the exercise of "prophesying or interpreting the Scriptures," which appear in one of the authoritative books of that Church, and which point to an assembly almost identical with that over which Irving presided, with the exception that the former laid claim to no miraculous gifts. "This has just exactly the reverse meaning of what the rev. defender had endeavoured to extract from it, not to mention that there is nothing here about these prophets speaking on a Sunday," says the Moderator with a simple and amusing dogmatism which attempts no proof; and the other members of the court give forth their opinions with equal looseness, each man using a few inapplicable words out of the Confession, as if it were a charm which could convert his personal notions into a solemn judgment. I neither assert nor imagine that there was the least dishonesty in the conclusions so strangely arrived at, or that the judges were not quite conscientious, and convinced that they were doing their duty; but so far as law and justice are concerned, the entire proceedings were a mere mockery, only rendered more palpably foolish by the show of legal form and ceremony with which they were conducted. Had the matter been argued before a civil court, it might indeed have been decided that the proceedings complained of were contrary to the *usage* of the Church of Scotland, no doubt an important point—but it must have been satisfactorily established that no ecclesiastical law*

* That this is the case, and that no such rigid adherence to the proprieties of custom binds the Church when she chooses to be tolerant, might be proved by the many irregularities permitted in connection with the late "revivals."

forbade them, and that no direct ordinance of the Church had been in any way transgressed.

At the same time, while this is very evidently the case, it is necessary to admit that the spiritual manifestations then taking place in Irving's church were, though contrary to no ecclesiastical canon, yet thoroughly contrary to the character and essence of Presbyterian worship; and that only the existence, not to be hoped for, of an imperturbable judicial mind, resolute in the majesty of law, and beyond the influence of feeling, in the court that judged him, could have made a different result possible. Those outbursts of prophetic voices, exciting and unexpected, were palpably at the wildest variance with the rigid decorums of that national worship which has so carefully abstracted everything which can influence either imagination or sense from its austere services. And a body of men trained to the strictest observance of this affronted order of worship, totally unaccustomed to the exactitude of law, and important in the exercise of an authority which they would have unanimously declared it an infraction of Christ's sovereignty in His Church had any qualified adviser attempted to guide, were scarcely to be supposed so superior to Presbyterial precedent as to conduct this trial on the cautious principles of civil equity. They quoted ecclesiastical law as uninstructed controversialists quote texts, by way of giving a certain vague authority to their own opinions, but the idea of examining scrupulously what that law really enforced and meant, or wherein the actions of the accused were opposed to it, never seems to have entered the minds of the hasty Presbyters. The Con-

fessions of Faith and Books of Discipline, to which Irving referred so often, had in fact nothing to do with the matter. Apart from all disputed doctrine and irritated theological temper, a simple matter of fact, visible to all the world, had to be dealt with; a startling novelty had suddenly disturbed the sober composure of the Scotch Church, which was no way to be reconciled with its habitual reserve and gravity, and somehow had to be got rid of. Scotch observers looking back at the present moment, regretful of the necessity, still ask — what could they do? And I cannot tell what they could have done, except examine, and wait, and tolerate—three things which the national temperament finds more difficult than any action or exertion. "I do not dissent from your assertion, that the Scotch consistory had no choice but to expel Irving from the body," writes the Rev. F. D. Maurice. "I do not say that the authorities of the English Church, if they had (unhappily) the same kind of jurisdiction, might not, or may not exercise it the same manner. But I know few signs which (in the latter case) I should deem so sure a prognostic of coming desolation." The Scotch mind, much less tolerant and more absolute than the English, that same mind which makes it by times a "unanimous hero nation," had already learned to make abrupt settlement of such questions; and, unless the Presbytery had been content to wait with Gamaliel and see whether this thing was of God or not, the decision they came to was the only one to be looked for from them. But the laws of the Church, those standards which they themselves set up as the ultimate reference, had absolutely nothing at all to do with the matter.

The verdict—elaborately enveloped, as will be seen, in the perplexing obscurity of Scotch law terms, which, taken in connection with the wonderful lack of law in the proceedings themselves, throw an air almost of absurdity upon it—was as follows:—

"At a meeting of the London Presbytery, held at the Scotch Church, London Wall, this 2nd day of May, 1830;

"Whereas the trustees of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, having on the 22nd day of March last, delivered to the Moderator of this Presbytery a memorial and complaint, charging the Rev. Edward Irving with certain deviations from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Scotland, in the said complaint particularly set forth; and praying that this Presbytery would forthwith take the same into their consideration, so as to determine the question whether, by such breaches of doctrine and discipline, the said Rev. Edward Irving hath not rendered himself unfit to remain the minister of the said National Scotch Church, and ought not to be removed therefrom, in pursuance of the conditions of the trust-deed of the said church. And whereas, the said Rev. Edward Irving, having previously been delated and convicted before this Presbytery on the ground of teaching heresy concerning the human nature of our Lord Jesus Christ, has been declared to be no longer a member thereof. Yet in respect that the trust-deed of the said church, legally drawn and concluded with the consent of the said Rev. Edward Irving, and the said trustees as parties thereto, expressly provides not only that this Presbytery shall, or may act and adjudicate in all cases of complaint brought in the manner therein specified against the minister of the said church for the time being, by certain persons therein specified; but that the award or decision of this Presbytery in all such matters, so referred to them as aforesaid, shall be final and conclusive.

"And further, in regard that the trustees of the said church, being of the parties competent to complain as aforesaid, have laid before this Presbytery, in the manner pre-

scribed by the said trust-deed, the memorial and complaint hereinbefore-mentioned or referred to, against the said Rev. Edward Irving, charging him as aforesaid with certain deviations from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Scotland, as mentioned in the said complaint particularly, in as far as he has permitted and publicly encouraged, during public worship on Sabbath and other days, the exercise of certain supposed gifts by persons being neither ministers nor licentiates of the Church of Scotland, in contravention, as well of his ordination vows, as of the true intent and meaning of the said trust-deed, which, in the governing clause thereof, provides that the said National Scotch Church, of which the said Rev. Edward Irving is the present minister, shall, at all times hereafter, be used, occupied, and enjoyed as a place for the public religious worship and service of God, according to the doctrines, forms of worship, and modes of discipline of the Established Church; an account of all which deviations and innovations the said trustees, offering proof of the same, have petitioned this Presbytery to decern in the premises, according to the provisions of the said trust-deed. And further, in regard that the said complaint has in all respects been orderly proceeded in. And that on the 26th and 27th days of April last, and on this 2nd day of May instant, the said trustees on the one part, and the said Rev. Edward Irving on the other, having severally compeared before this Presbytery, and probation having been taken on said complaint by the examination of witnesses upon oath, and by documentary evidence lodged in process, and parties having been heard and removed. Therefore this Presbytery, having seriously and deliberately considered the said complaint and the evidence adduced, together with the statements made in court by the said Rev. Edward Irving, and acting under a deep and solemn sense of their responsibility to the Lord Jesus Christ, as the great Head of the Church, do find that the charges in said complaint are fully proven; and therefore, while deeply deploring the painful necessity thus imposed upon them, they did and hereby do, decern that the said Rev. Edward Irving has rendered himself unfit to remain the minister of the National Scotch Church aforesaid, and ought to be removed therefrom, in

pursuance of the conditions of the trust-deed of the said church.

"JAMES REID BROWN,
"Moderator of the Presbytery of the Established Church of Scotland in London."

The following morning had scarcely dawned, when the triumphant press echoed and celebrated this decision. Never before was a Presbytery out of Scotland so watched and so applauded. The *Times* itself opened with a discharge of its great guns, in honour of the victory, devoting a leading article to the subject.

"The blasphemous absurdities which have for some months past been enacted in the Caledonian Church, Regent Square," says the leading journal, "are now, we trust, brought to an effectual conclusion. The Scotch Presbytery in London, who are, by the trust-deed of the chapel, appointed to decide on any alleged departure of its minister from the standards of the Kirk of Scotland, to which, by the same deed, he is sworn to adhere, last night, after a *laborious investigation*, declared that the fooleries which he had encouraged or permitted were inconsistent with the doctrine and discipline of the Scotch National Establishment. It would, indeed, have been a subject of wonder had they come to a different conclusion, though they had had the benefit of a concert upon the 'tongues' from the whole male and female band of Mr. Irving's select performers. So long as the rev. gentleman occupied the stage himself," continues this great authority in religious doctrine, "he was heard with patience — perhaps, sometimes with pity; . . . . but when he entered into partnership with knaves and impostors, to display their concerted 'manifestations' — when he profaned the sanctuary of God, by introducing hideous interludes of 'the unknown tongues,' it was impossible any longer to tolerate the nuisance."

Such terms had Irving, with his lofty sense of honour and chivalrous truthfulness, to hear applied

to himself, and to endure. The *Record*, with milder, but not less triumphant satisfaction, follows in a similar strain, emphasising its rejoicing by congratulating its readers, not only upon Baxter's recantation, but upon the timely withdrawal of Irving's assistant and missionary from the falling house — that gentleman having not only had his eyes opened to the delusion of the gifts, but also to the "awful heresy in regard to our Lord's humanity, which it has been the privilege of this journal steadfastly to resist." Such were the pæans with which the perfectly illogical and indefensible decision of the London Presbytery was received in the outside world; and such the accompaniments with which this heavy blow fell upon Irving. The assistant who deserted him at so painful a crisis, had been his companion for but a short time, and appears but little either in the history of the struggle, or in those all-demonstrative letters in which Irving, incapable of concealment, reveals his heart and soul.

It is a relief to turn from all this misrepresentation and injustice; from the reckless Presbyters who refused to examine either their own law or the real question at issue; from the contemptuous journalists, to whom this matter was only one of the wonders of the day, a fanaticism as foreign and unintelligible as heaven; from disenchanted prophets and failing friends; to Irving himself, spending the next day after, morning and evening and at noon, in the labours and devotions of that dedicated day preparatory to the communion, which Scottish piety still calls *par excellence* the Fast-day, totally as the ordinance of fasting has disappeared

from the nation. He did not intermit those services, although it was now uncertain whether the church would be open to him on the next Sunday for the celebration of the sacrament. "The tokens* were given, to be kept (if not delivered up on Sunday), as a bond of union till such time as the Lord shall guide the flock to some other place of refuge," writes a lady, whose diffuse woman's letter deepens into momentary pathos when, speaking of Irving in that day's services, she exclaims, "I verily believe he offered to God the sacrifice of a *broken* heart." It was the last sacrifice of his ever to be offered in that place where "the ashes of his children rested," as he himself mournfully said. The next morning, in the early May sunshine, before the world was half awake, the daily congregation gathering to their matins, found the gates of the church closed upon them. Perhaps it was that "wrath with those we love," working "like madness in the brain," the bitter anger of a brother offended, which moved the trustees to so abrupt a use of their power. "I strongly urged them to allow the church to remain open till after the dispensation of the sacrament," writes Mr. Hamilton, who had been a sad spectator throughout, specially intimating his non-concurrence, as being himself a trustee, in the complaint of the others, although unable in conscience to offer any opposition to them; "but they refused to do so, on the ground that, as they could not conscientiously join with Edward

* Admission to the communion being in the Scotch Church hedged in with many restrictions, it is customary to distribute these "tokens" before every observance of the ordinance, without which no one is admitted to the "fenced" and guarded table.

themselves, they would thereby be deprived, under the provisions of the trust-deed, from having a voice in the election of a future minister; and also, because it would bring a great accession of friends to Edward" — two hundred new members, according to the same authority, having applied for admission; so they put an arbitary stop to all the multiplied services with which the Church of Scotland prefaces its communion, and just as the sacred table was about to be spread, silently prohibited that solemn farewell feast, and left the large congregation, with its two hundred new members, to seek what accommodation it could find in the two days which intervened. They found it in a place of which the *Morning Watch* declares, "Nothing could be more repugnant to the judgment, taste, and feeling of all the members, than the asylum to which they were driven. A barn or a cowshed would have been preferable, but none such were to be obtained." This was a large room in Gray's Inn Road, occupied at other times by the well-known Robert Owen, and which was not only desecrated by that association, but too small to hold the large body of Irving's adherents. In this place, however, in that dismal centre of London life, the holy feast was held on the 6th of May, by almost the entire church, about eight hundred communicants; and here, for some months, the more solemn services of the church were celebrated; while Irving preached out of doors in various places, sometimes in Britannia Fields, sometimes in Islington Green, to the multitudes who assembled wherever his presence was known.

Such was the first step he had to make in that new world, outside what his followers call "the splendid

towers of Regent Square," outside the ancient circle of companions and counsellors who had deserted him. Of the pangs of that parting he henceforth says not a word; but goes on in sad grandeur, feeling to the depths of his heart all the fulness of the change. Between the church he had founded and watched over as stone upon stone it had grown into being, and round which, in his fond imagination, the venerable *prestige* of the Church of his fathers had always hovered; and the big room in that squalid London street, where foolish-benevolent Unbelief* shared the possession with him, and played its frivolous pranks of philanthropy under the same roof which echoed his religious voice, amid all the sneers of the prejudiced world outside — what a difference was there! But after the struggles of the so-called "trial" were over, not a word of complaint or reproach comes to his lips; he proceeds with those "unexampled labours." Multitudes stand hushed before him on those summer days, as on the parched suburban grass, or under the walls of the big prison, he preaches the gospel of his Master, with an eloquence deeper and richer, a devotion more profound and perfect, than when the greatest in the land crowded to his feet, and all that was most wise and most fair in society listened and thrilled to his prophet voice. But not his now the *prophet* voice; by his side, or in the crowd near him, is some obscure man or woman, to

* I may notice here, so strong is the power of even a momentary and fortuitous connection of two names, that some friends of my own, entirely ignorant otherwise of Irving, have confidently assured me that he had something to do with the infidel Owen, as I was sure to find out on examination! This is, I need not say, the entire amount of that connection.

hear whom, when the burst of utterance comes upon them, the great preacher pauses with rapt looks and ear intent; for that utterance, because he believes it to be the voice of God, he has borne "reproach, casting out, deprivation of everything, save life itself," writes one of his female relatives, with aggrieved and pathetic indignation; and there he stands in the unconscious splendour of his humility, offering magnificent thanks when those strange ejaculations give, what he believes a confirmation from heaven, to the word he has been teaching; a sight, if that voice were true, to thrill the universe; a sight, if that voice were false, to make angels weep with utter love and pity; any way, whether true or false, an attitude than which anything more noble and affecting has never been exhibited by man to men.

One of those out-doors sermons was distinguished by a thoroughly characteristic and beautiful incident. It was shortly after his ejection from Regent Square, on a summer Sunday morning, when surrounded by a little band of his own people, and raised in "a temporary pulpit or platform made for his use by one of his flock," Irving was preaching to the dense crowd which had gathered round him. The subject of his discourse was, as the lady from whom I have the information believes, that doctrine of regeneration in baptism with which so many pangs of parental love and anguish were associated in his mind. Suddenly he was interrupted by an appeal from the crowd; a child had been lost in the throng by its parents, and was now held up by the stranger who had extricated it, and who wanted to know what he should do with the forlorn little

creature. "Give me the child," said the preacher; and with difficulty through the multitude, the lost infant was brought to him. "Mr. Irving stretched out his arms for it," says my informant, "and in a moment it was nestling (just as we used to see his own little baby do), with the most perfect confidence and contentment, against his broad shoulder. It was a poor child, and poorly clothed, but he was not the man to love it less on that account. We shall none of us ever forget the *wonderful* manner in which Mr. Irving could hold an infant. This one appeared to be perfectly happy from the moment it was in his arms, while he continued to preach with as much ease and freedom as before, and interweaving at once into his discourse (to which it was, of course, most appropriate), our Lord's own lesson about the little children, made this little one as it were the *text* of his last clauses, which he prolonged considerably; when he had concluded, in his final prayer and blessing, he particularly prayed for and blessed "the little child;" and after the psalm had been sung, he beckoned to the parents, who (as he had intended) had seen it from the time he took it into his arms, to come and receive it back." The affectionate writer goes on, with a little outburst of that loving recollection which brings tears to the eyes and a tremor to the voice of every one who remembers Irving, to say that in his lifetime they "hardly dared to speak or think of those natural gifts which had, previously to his more spiritual ministry, gained for him the praises of the world." But now, at a distance of thirty years, his friends can venture to recall the picture — that figure almost gigantic, with the

lost baby "literally cradled" in his arms; the summer heavens blazing above; the breathless crowd below; the solemn harmony of that matchless voice, full of all the intonations of eloquence, to which nobody could listen unmoved; and that living sign of a tenderness which embraced all helpless things, the love with which his forlorn heart, wounded to its depths, yearned to its brethren. "An intense sunshine bathed the whole," concludes the lady, whose notes I have quoted. Under that sunshine, in fervid midsummer, silent thousands stood and listened. This was now the only means remaining to Irving of communication with the outside world.

And in these preachings, with but here and there a scattered individual who retained, or ever had known, allegiance to the Church of Scotland near him; and in the room in Gray's Inn Road—and still more strangely in the chapel where the Rev. Nicholas Armstrong, not long before a clergyman of the English Church, and of fervent Irish blood, established the first dependent congregation of the new sect—one sign of Irving's influence, as remarkable as it is affecting, accompanied the services. So far as the London Presbytery could do it, the great preacher had been cast out of the Church of his fathers—he had been pronounced unfit to occupy any longer a pulpit bound to the Church of Scotland; but wherever Irving's friends and followers sang the praises of God, it was that rugged version of the Psalms of David which we, in Scotland, know from our cradles, and—all poetic considerations out of the question—cherish to our graves, which ascended from the lips of the un-

accustomed crowd. Those rugged measures, by times grand in their simplicity, by times harsh and unmelodious as only translated lyrics can be, which cheered the death-passion of the Covenanter, and which Carlyle, with an almost fantastic loyalty (in rebellion) to the faith that cradled him, puts into the mouths of his mediæval monks, Irving, in actual reality, put into the mouths of his English followers. When his bold disciples interposed their Gospel into the din of every-day life in the heart of London, and preached at Charing-Cross, in the heat of the laborious hours, it was not the smooth hymns of modern piety, but the strange songs of a sterner faith, which mingled with the confused noises of the life-battle. To find those harsh old verses, sometimes thrilling with an heroic touch, but at all times as unlike the effusions of devotion in our days as can well be conceived, preserved amid records of "manifestations" and sermons, upon neither the speakers nor the hearers of which they had the least claim of association, is a singular memorial of the affectionate reverence with which all his followers regarded Irving. I cannot tell how long this lasted *; but in these days of excitement and commotion, when the expelled church had no refuge, but snatched its solemn celebrations in the obnoxious concert-room which Robert Owen shared, and wandered out about those noisy suburbs to find space for its preaching, it is always the old Psalms of Scotland which rise quaint and strange upon the air, used to smoother, if not to nobler,

* I am told that their use was continued for several years, until the system of chanting the Psalms in the prose version, as in the Church of England, was adopted.

measures. And throughout this summer, there is a continual changing of scene and place. The old green of Islington, swallowed up out of all village semblance in the noisy centre of population, the still less pleasant space overshadowed by Clerkenwell prison, nay, even as we have said, Charing-Cross, which sometimes in insular arrogance we call the centre of the world, all saw the wandering nucleus of devoted worshippers, the gathering crowd, the preaching Evangelist.

Nor was there always the same veneration shown even to the great preacher himself, as in the instance we have quoted. The newspapers of the day mention a threatened assault upon him by the Jews, to whom he had preached in Goodman's Fields; and he himself refers to the presence of "a multitude of strangers and gazers," who "have insulted me, and do insult me daily." While, at the same time, he desires the prayers of the Church "for two brethren, now lying in prison," who were suffering for their zeal in this respect. The newspapers, in the meantime, were full of sneers and contemptuous self-congratulations on having foreseen the depths of the "foolery" into which this new fanaticism had fallen; but I cannot help thinking that this summer conveyed, amid the labours that refreshed his soul, a little repose to Irving, who, at last, was done with all the harassing cares of daily contest—the struggle with his friends. It was over now; and if deserted on many sides, he was comparatively unmolested. After the morning services, the worshippers poured into his house, which was still in Judd Place, and which, in that moment of transition, had no certain provision even for its own necessities, and crowded round the breakfast table,

where the man who knew how to live by faith, exercised, as Mr. Drummond described to me, "a princely hospitality." During the entire summer, the *Morning Watch* informs us, the members of the expelled church had been "indefatigable in seeking to purchase, hire, or build a chapel." None eligible offered for the former purpose, and when it was resolved to erect a building, and money had been collected towards defraying the expense, the Spirit expressly forbade it, saying "that the Lord would provide in His own time." And, in fact, a place adaptable for the purpose was found in the beginning of autumn, in the large picture gallery which had belonged to West, the painter, and which was attached to his house, in Newman Street; where, accordingly, after a little interval, the changed congregation established itself, remodelled and reorganised.

That was a year almost as momentous and exciting to the nation at large as it was to Irving and his people. It was the year of the Reform Bill, and half the periodical literature of the day was awful in prognostications which one reads now-a-days with incredulous smiles; and still more closely interesting and important, it was the year of the cholera, when men's hearts were failing them for fear of the uncomprehended plague, which stole, insidious and sudden, alike through crowded streets and quiet villages. In the June number of the *Morning Watch* appears a letter from Irving, touching an attack of this malady to which he himself had been subject, and the manner in which he had surmounted it—which is remarkable, as all his letters are, for the simple and minute picture it gives of his own heart and emotions.

The idea that disease itself was sin, and that no man with faith in his Lord *ought* to be overpowered by it, was one of the principles which began to be adopted by the newly-separated community.

"To the Editor of the *Morning Watch.*

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—As you have asked me to give you an account of the gracious dealings of our Heavenly Father with me, His unworthy servant, on the occasion of my being seized with what was in all appearance, and to the conviction of medical men when described to them, seemed to be that disease which has proved fatal to so many of our fellow-creatures in this and other lands, I sit down to do so with much gratitude of heart to my God, who enabled me to hold fast my confidence in Him, and who did not forsake me when I trusted in Him, nor suffer the adversary to triumph over me, but gave me power, through faith in Christ my risen Head, to overcome him when he endeavoured, by his assault in my flesh, to shake my faith in my God, and to prevent me from fulfilling that day to two different congregations the office of a minister of Christ. . . . I feel I ought to mention that, on the evening preceding my attack, I had preached from the words in the 12th of 1 Cor., 'To another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit.' I was led in discourse to show out to my flock that the standing of the members of Christ was to be without disease, and that this had ever been the standing of God's people. . . . . And I added that if disease did come upon them, as in the case of Job, it was either for chastening for some sin, whether in themselves or in the body of Christ, for God ever views us as one, or permitted as a trial of our faith. Having stated these things out fully, I exhorted the saints of God before me to live by faith continually on Jesus for the body as well as the soul. . . . Or should their faith be put to the test by disease, I entreated them to hold fast their confidence, and to plead the Lord's own many and gracious promises to the members of His Church, and in faith to go about the occupations which in His providence they were called to perform, ever bearing in

mind that whatsoever they did should be for His glory, and that I had no doubt but they would ever experience that the Lord honoured their faith in His word.

"On the following morning I arose in perfect health, at the usual hour, and was in the church by half-past six o'clock. During the prayer-meeting I began to feel pain, but was able to go through the service. A number of friends accompanied me home to breakfast. On reaching home, I became very chill, and had very severe pain. . . . . After resting awhile I felt a little relieved, and entered the room where my friends were, and sat down by the fire, unable to taste anything. The hour's pain I had endured, and the other trial of my constitution, had even then had such an effect on my frame that my appearance shocked my friends. I could take no interest in the conversation going forward, but endeavoured to lift up my heart to my God, having a presentiment that I was called upon to show forth the faith which I had on the preceding evening been led to exhort my people to have in their heavenly Father. In the strength of God I proceeded, when my friends had finished breakfast, to conduct family worship, which I was enabled to do, though my body was so enfeebled that I could neither kneel nor stand, having tried both positions, but had to sit while I prayed. I then retired to my own room, in order to search myself in the presence of God, to confess my sins, to cast myself entirely on the mercy of my Father, and to seek for strength to perform the duties of that day, having to preach that forenoon at half-past eleven o'clock, and again in the evening at seven. I was now very sick, with a feeling of wringing or gnawing pain through my whole body. . . . I was so weak that I could not sit up, and in sore pain, with a painful chill all over my body. I therefore wrapped me up in blankets and laid me on my bed, desiring to be left alone until a few minutes before the time for setting out for the house of God, where I should minister to His people. My orders were obeyed, and my wish attended to. My wife entered my room about a quarter-past eleven o'clock. I felt so exhausted that I did not attempt to speak to her. She saw my weakness and spoke not, but hurried down stairs to prepare a little arrowroot and brandy for me, and to desire that my fellow-labourer, the missionary of our

church, should go and take my place, as she thought there was little hope of my reaching the church at the hour when the service should commence. When my wife had left the room, though I was no better, I said in the strength of the Lord I will rise and do my duty. I arose, and came down stairs in tottering weakness, but holding fast my assurance, that though brought very low, the Lord would not forsake me. . . . My sunken eyes and pallid cheeks, and altogether my ghastly appearance, my wife afterwards told me, reminded her of her grandsire of eighty-four, whose frame had been wasted with disease. . . . With slow and difficult steps, accompanied by my wife and a young friend, I proceeded to the church, about a quarter of a mile from my house; and on entering, found my friend and fellow-labourer standing and ministering in my room. All things tempted me to shrink back from my office; but I felt no hesitation to instruct my faithful beadle, though he remonstrated much, to go up to the pulpit and inform my brother that when he had finished the first prayer I would take my place, and by God's help perform my own duty. Meanwhile, I stretched myself on three chairs before the fire in the vestry, barely able to keep myself in heat, and, by perfect stillness in one position, a little to abate the pain. Ever as I shifted my position I endured much suffering, and was almost involuntarily impelled to draw up my limbs in order to keep the pain under. Nevertheless, when I stood up to attire myself for the pulpit, and went forward to ascend the pulpit stairs, the pains seemed to leave me. Over and over again my kind and true-hearted brother besought me to let him proceed; but my mind was made up to fall at my post, which I had an inward assurance my Master would not suffer me to do. I began to read the chapter, expecting the power of spiritual exposition, which was wont to abound to me in this above all my other services; but to my astonishment I had no thought in my heart, nor word upon my lips, and felt it was all I could do to keep on reading. About the sixth verse my words began to be indistinct in the sound. I could not strike them shrill and full out; they fell short of my usual utterance all I could do. My eye became dim, and the words of the book looked hazy. Then my head began to swim, and my heart to become faint; and I laid hold

on the pulpit-sides and looked wistfully about, wondering what was to befall me. But the most painful symptom of all was that I felt it a great effort to draw my breath. At this moment, when the disease was come to a crisis, and all nature was sinking down within me, I had only one feeling, for the honour of Jesus, my Lord and Master, that he should be put to shame through my unbelief—and that I should fall before the enemy in the place of testimony and in the sight of all the people. One thought, one prayer, shot across my spirit, which was this, 'Surely Thou, oh Jesus, art stronger in my spirit than Satan is in my flesh!' That instant a cold sweat, chill as the hand of death, broke out all over my body, and stood in large drops upon my forehead and hands. From that moment I seemed to be strengthened. My reading, which had not been interrupted by all this, though strongly affected so as to be sensible to all present, proceeded more easily to the end of the chapter, but all without my being able to add one word of exposition. Nevertheless, after the singing a few stanzas of a Psalm, I undertook to preach on the last verse of the 3rd chapter of John's Gospel, which came in order. According to my custom I had premeditated nothing, and, as hath been said, while reading the chapter found myself utterly incapable of originating anything. But I knew the Master whom I serve, and set out on His charges. Slowly and with great weakness the words dropped from me, and I was ill able to indite sentences or bind them into regular discourse; but I gave myself to the Spirit, and went forward. I had not proceeded many minutes until the Holy Ghost, in one of the prophets, burst in upon my discourse, speaking with tongues and prophesying. This brought me rest and refreshing, and some of the words were made to me spirit and life, so that I resumed with fresh strength; but still as a dead man, both in respect of body and of mind; alive in respect of the Spirit. I continued my discourse for about an hour, with more unction, as it appeared to myself and all who spake of it, than I had ever preached before. After the service, I walked home and conversed with my friends, and took a little simple food; expecting to strengthen my body for my evening duty by eating heartily at dinner. But God was resolved that for this day the glory of my strength should

stand only in Him; for I was able to eat little or nothing; yet had more power given me in preaching to about two hundred poor people in a crowded school-room than I ever remember to have had. And next morning I rose to my duty before the sun, and was enabled to go forward with renewed strength unto this hour. For all which let the glory be given to Jehovah by His name,—'I am the Lord God which healeth thee.'

"EDWD. IRVING."

The perfect simplicity of this narrative may, perhaps, bring a smile upon some faces; but I cannot pretend to offer any excuses for a man who felt the everlasting arms always under him, and recognised no dull intervening world between himself and his God. The occurrence thus described evidently took place before his expulsion from Regent Square, and at a time when men's minds were highly strung, and as delicate to deal with as the wavering bands of an army in the first thrill of panic, which the merest stumble of the leader might throw into mad rout and destruction. Perhaps the steadfast, pallid figure, holding by the sides of the pulpit, and maintaining its Christian sovereignty over the body and its pangs, did more than much philosophy to strengthen the hearts of the watching multitude against that panic which is the best aid of pestilence.

Notwithstanding Irving's declaration that, according to his custom, he had premeditated nothing, he had by no means given up the composition of sermons; but still, and to the end of his days, continued to dictate to the writing of here and there a joyful amanuensis, honoured to feel her female pen the medium of recording his high thoughts and burning exhortations. Nor

does it appear that the "falling off," which is so commonly alleged against him at this agitated period of his life, was in any respect more true than suppositions framed upon general probability generally are. On the contrary, Mr. Hamilton, who, deeply affectionate as he was, would not perhaps have been sorry could he have seen a momentary feebleness visible in the brother whose convictions carried him into paths so strange and dangerous, could not say that the bewilderment of the manifestations, or the undue faith with which Irving regarded them, had any effect upon the force and fulness of his preaching. "His ministrations in the pulpit," wrote this trusty witness, dating the 4th of May, "have for some time past been extremely powerful, and I believe instrumental in winning many souls to Christ." Certainly his few printed productions of this period give little sign of any decay of intellect. One of these, published in the *Morning Watch* of March 1832, entitled, *A Judgment upon the Decisions of the late General Assembly*, contains a very remarkable passage in reference to the future fate of the Church of Scotland, which, uttered without any prophetic pomp, has verified itself more absolutely than any of the professedly inspired predictions to which Irving himself gave such undoubting heed:—"That the General Assembly, Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions, with all the other furniture of the Church, *are about, like the veil of the temple, to be rent in twain*, or to be left, like the withered fig-tree, fruitless and barren, I firmly believe, and yet would do all I could to retard it," he says; regarding steadfastly, not any premonition of a rising controversy about Church government, nor

even the restless, absolute spirit, entering into a wild struggle with all the conditions of nature, which took so readily to deposition and anathema,—but what to his intent eyes was a thousand times more significant, the practical denial of the love of the Father, and the work of the Son, which he believed the Church of Scotland to be guilty of. After the event which has left so deep a scar upon the heart of Scotland, it is startling to meet with such words.

The *Morning Watch*, notwithstanding its dignity as a Quarterly Review, and its oft-repeated declaration that the majority of its readers were members of the English Church, occupied itself, throughout those exciting months, in the most singular manner, with the ecclesiastical prosecution, which only the great fame of Irving, and the remarkable character of the spiritual question involved, prevented from being a merely local and individual matter. Though a periodical of the highest class and most recondite pretensions, it palpitated with every change in the fortunes of the Regent Square Church, and was as truly the organ of that expelled band, large as a congregation, but small as a community, which followed Irving, as its adversary the *Record* was the organ of English Evangelicism; and not only abounded in discussions and expositions of the miraculous gifts and cures, and of the doctrines specially identified with Irving, but went so much farther as to represent "*Mr. Irving's Church as* THE *Sign of the Times*," and to discuss the position of the body in its temporary and disagreeable refuge as "*The Ark of God in the Temple of Dagon.*" Perhaps the presence in the new community of a man so rich, so determined, so swift, and

self-acting as Henry Drummond, sparing no cost, either of money or labour,—a potentate considerable enough to have an "organ" in his own right — goes far to explain the possession, by a single Church, of a representative so magnificent as a Quarterly Review.

I am not informed as to the precise period when Irving removed his family into the house in Newman Street, which included under the same roof the large picture gallery henceforward to form the meeting-place of his Church; but, before going on to that, there occurs another of those anecdotes which his friends have hoarded up in their memories, and tell with tears and smiles. When he went for the first time to see this house, some time elapsed before he could get admission; and when, at last, the man who was in charge of the place opened the door, he apologised for the delay, saying that he had a child dying upstairs. "Then, before we do anything else," said Irving, on the threshhold of the much-desired building which might liberate him from Robert Owen and Gray's Inn Road, "let us go and pray that it may be healed." He followed the astonished and sorrowful custodian of the empty house up through the echoing staircase to the attic where the little sick-bed was, and, kneeling down, poured out his soul for the child, over whose feeble head he no doubt pronounced that blessing which dropped from his tender lips upon all little children. Then he returned to the business which had brought him there, and examined the extent and capabilities of the place. Some time after, he returned again with the architect who was to superintend the alterations, and, as soon as the door was opened, asked, How was the

child? The father answered with joy that it was now recovering. "Then, before we do anything else, let us go and give thanks," said the Christian priest. Hearing of such daily incidents, natural accompaniments of that full life, one cannot wonder at the exclamation which bursts from the troubled bosom of his sister Elizabeth, when, in a passion of mingled doubt and grief, she says, "There are moments when I feel as if God had deserted the Church altogether; for if He is not in the midst of Mr. Irving's family and flock, where is God to be found?" Surely, amid all clouds of human imperfection, the light of His countenance fell fair upon that echoing empty house where His faithful servant gave the thanks of a prince and poet for the little life of the poor housekeeper's child.

Most probably that eventful summer passed without much intercourse between the household which was in direct opposition to all its kindred, and the kind but grieved relations who withstood the new faith; for in August, Mrs. Irving addressed a beseeching woman's letter, tender and importunate, evidently written out of the yearning of her heart, to her father and mother, begging them to come to visit her, and evidently not without a hope that, if they did but see and hear the "Work" which was going on, they would be persuaded of its truth. When she had made her petition, she seems to have transferred the letter to Irving, who, more prescient of all the difficulties involved, yet tender of his Isabella's desire, adds to the anxious conciliatory letter the following sentences:—

"If your hearts draw you to grant this, the request of my

dear Isabella and myself, let not the expense be any consideration, for we never were so rich since we began housekeeping. . . . And if you should not wish to abide in our house by reason of the contrariety of our faith in so essential a point as the voice of the Good Shepherd, which is more spoke under our roof than in any other place, you have our dear brother Mr. Hamilton's house to go to, who will be too glad to receive you. For my own part, I could not wish you to abide in that holy presence and stand in doubt of His identity, much less speak against His divinity, and worse than all speak of the Holy Ghost as a spirit of delusion. . . . You would certainly be continually exposed to great trials in this way, and might be brought under heinous sin; but God might be pleased to give you to acknowledge His truth. Do as seemeth best to you, being guided by the Lord in all things. My only comfort is that the people know not what they have spoken against; were it otherwise, I would be ready to perish at the thought of the despite which hath been done to the Spirit of grace. The Gospel soundeth out through the whole city from my church. I should suppose there are not fewer than thirty or forty who now preach in the streets, every one of them as zealous, and many of them more bold than I am; and for myself, the Lord's work by me, both within my church and amongst the people, prospers above all former times. Every two months there are added to the church nearly fifty souls. If you knew it, you have great ground of thanksgiving on our account. I believe the Lord is doing a work in my church, wherein the whole world shall have reason to rejoice.

"Your affectionate and faithful children,

"E. &. I. Irving."

The parents naturally did not come to complicate all his difficulties; but another communication passed between them a month later, when Irving intimated the birth of another son, and also that "the Lord prospers us otherwise very much. He hath provided us with a house and church under one roof, where I

believe the Lord will work blessings manifold, not only to this city and nation, but to the whole world; because He is gracious, and the time to visit His Church is come, and we were the most despised among the thousands of Israel."

With such anticipations accordingly, he entered into possession of the new church; and now, indeed, the ancient, austere usages of the Church of Scotland began to yield to the presence of that gradually rising tide of spiritual influence within. Those utterances, which at first had only conveyed exhortations and warnings to the people of God, had, in the hands of Baxter, taken an entirely different and much more authoritative character; up to his time, the prophets, of whom the majority were women, seem only to have given stray gleams of edification, encouragement, and instruction to the believing assembly. Baxter, on the contrary, carried matters with a high hand; he not only interpreted prophecy, but uttered predictions; he fixed the day and the year when the "rapture of the saints" was to take place, in opposition to the sentiments of many of the "gifted;" and if he did not positively assert his own call to be an apostle, at least intimated it with more or less distinctness. Nor was this all; he also declared in "the power," that the Church no longer retained the privilege of ordaining, and that all spiritual offices were henceforth to be filled by the gifted, or by those specially called, through the gifted, by the Spirit of God. Before the opening of the Newman Street church, it is true, the prophet himself had published the wonderful narrative, in which he repeated the predictions which came

from his own lips, and appealing to the whole world whether they had been fulfilled, proclaimed them a delusion. But the principle which he had introduced did not fall to the ground, nor did his brother prophets cease to believe in his prophecies. And so it came to pass, that those utterances which had only been expository and exhortative before Baxter's time, after his revelation changed their nature, and gradually mingling details of church ceremonies and ordinances with their previous devotional and hortatory character, became ere long the oracles of the community—fluctuating sometimes in gusts of painful uncertainty when one prophet rebuked the utterances of another, and reversed his directions, or when conclusions too summary were drawn which had inevitably to be departed from. This new development introduced, instead of the steady certainty of an established law, the unsettled and variable condition naturally resulting from dependence upon a mysterious spiritual authority, which might at any time command an entire change in their proceedings, and was besides liable to be intruded upon by equally mysterious, diabolical agencies, which could with difficulty be distinguished from the real influence of the Spirit. When the principle of spiritual ordination was once established, this condition of painful change and fluctuation became inevitable. If it was indeed the Spirit of God which declared the old authority of the Church to be superseded, such an intimation was reasonably to be supposed the preface of spiritual action; and if a power other than the Spirit of God, still more certain was the fruit to be borne by a suggestion which gave scope to every burning imagina-

tion and enthusiast heart. New names, new offices, a changed order of worship came in gradual succession; when the greater matters were momentarily settled, the minutest details came in for their share; and the very details became important when it was believed that God Himself directed and suggested every arrangement of the new sanctuary.

I do not attempt to follow the gradual development of the "Catholic Apostolic Church." I could not do so without shocking the holiest feelings of some of the most excellent people I know, to whom I am indebted for much courtesy and no small assistance. They are very well able to set forth and defend their own faith; and it would be ill my part to cast the faintest shade either of ridicule or of odium upon it. I only pause to point out the moment when the old order of things began to break up and disappear, leaving only here and there some pathetic shred of ancient habitude, such as the use of the Scotch Psalms, to show where the former landmarks had been. In the excitement of the new system thus gradually forming, in the proclamation of apostles about to be consecrated, and prophets about to be sent forth, and a new tabernacle of testimony against the world lying in wickedness to be established in that wilderness—a living tabernacle, every office-bearer of which was intended by God to stand in the place of some one of the symbolical material parts of Moses' tabernacle—it would have been marvellous, indeed, had the old forms of Scottish worship remained intact amid so many convulsions.

In a sermon preached in Gray's Inn Road, just

before entering the new church, Irving thus intimated one or two of the changes purposed :—

"Because I have been sore hindered by the presence of the multitude of strangers and gazers who have profaned the Lord's house, and have insulted me and do insult me daily, and not me only, but the Lord Jesus, it is my purpose, by God's grace, when we meet together again, that the Church shall meet together alone one full hour before the admission of the people, in order that the Church may know what are the duties of the Church, and that we may together confess our sins before the Lord, and humble ourselves before the Lord, and bow ourselves down; and that I may speak to you in the confidence of a pastor, that I may tell you more plainly than in the presence of strangers what be our faults, what be our shortcomings, in order that we may all be before the Lord, to be rebuked of Him accordingly. Then when the service of the church hath thus been gone about, it is my purpose that the doors be opened, and all whom the Lord shall please to send shall come in, that we may pray for them and minister the word of the Gospel unto them. . . . I hope at no great distance of time also that we shall find it both convenient and desirable to eat the Lord's Supper together, as a Church, every Lord's Day. But, as I said before, I do not wish to press this heavily, nor to enforce anything, but that by the gentle leading of the Spirit of God the Church may be led into it."

The new Church itself bore outward evidence of the change. In a second pamphlet, entitled "Irvingism," much less rare and curious than his "Narrative," and published a year or two later, in which Mr. Baxter appears calmed down out of his prophetic passion into the ordinary tone of religious controversy, he describes the place as follows :—"The room adopted for their meetings was fitted up in the usual style of pews and galleries, as in a church; instead of a pulpit, however, there was constructed at the upper end of the church a raised platform, capable of containing perhaps fifty

persons. In the ascent to this platform are steps, on the front of the platform are seven seats; the middle seat is that of the angel; the three on each side of the angel are elders. Below them on the steps, and in a parallel line, are seven other seats belonging to the prophets, the middle seat being allotted to Mr. Taplin as the chief of the prophets. Still lower in a parallel line are seven other seats appropriated to the deacons, the middle seat being occupied by the chief deacon. This threefold cord of a sevenfold ministry was adopted under direction of the utterance. The angel ordered the service, and the preaching and expounding was generally by the elders in order, the prophets speaking as utterance came upon them." The opening services, however, in this church seem to have been conducted exclusively by Irving, whose sermon, interrupted now and then by a *manifestation*, I have now before me. It was on Wednesday evening, the 24th of October, that this service was held; and the manifestations are reported as they occurred. As an example of these utterances I quote them at length. In the course of his exposition of the 1st chapter of the First Book of Samuel, Irving mentions the Church as barren—"conceiving, but not having brought forth," upon which the ecstatic voice interposes—

"Oh, but she shall be fruitful, oh! oh! oh! she shall replenish the earth! Oh! oh! she shall replenish the earth and subdue it—and subdue it!"

A little further on another, less apposite to the subject of the discourse, breaks in as follows:—

"Oh, you do grieve the Spirit—you do grieve the Spirit! Oh, the body of Jesus is to be sorrowful in spirit! You are

to cry to your Father — to cry, to cry in the bitterness of your souls! Oh, it is a mourning, a mourning, a mourning before the Lord — a sighing and crying unto the Lord because of the desolations of Zion — because of the desolations of Zion — because of the desolations of Zion!"

The sermon is on *Reconciliation to God*, and is interrupted by the following "manifestations," in some cases with only a few sentences of the discourse, and in the first two, with only a few words between. Irving is exhorting his hearers to believe that "there is salvation in Christ for every one of you"; when the utterance bursts forth by the voice of Mr. Drummond—

"Ah, shut Him not out — shut not out your Saviour! Ah, you are proud of your dignity! Ah, truly your power is fearful! Ah, you have a power of resisting your God — you have a power of resisting your salvation! Ah, you are not straitened in your Father; you are straitened in yourselves! Oh, receive Him now! The day is almost closed. Ah, enter now! Delay not — delay not, delay not. Ah, wherefore stand you back?"

Here Irving resumes, "Shut not the Lord out, the Spirit of the Lord speaking in his servants;" when he is immediately interrupted again—

"Oh, I have set before thee—oh, I have set before thee
an open door;
Oh, let no man shut it—oh, let no man shut it!"

And the following occur at longer intervals; the first uttered by a lady —

"Ah! will ye despise — ah! will ye despise the blood of Jesus? Will ye pass by the cross, the cross of Jesus? Oh! oh! oh! will ye crucify the Lord of glory? will ye put Him to an open shame? He died, He died, He died for you—He died for you! Believe ye, believe ye the Lamb of God! Oh, He was slain, He was slain, and He hath redeemed you—He

hath redeemed you—He hath redeemed you—He hath redeemed you with His blood! Oh, the blood, the blood, the blood that speaketh better things than the blood of Abel—which crieth mercy to you now—mercy to you now! Despise not His love—despise not His love—despise not His love!"

"Oh, grieve Him not! Oh, grieve not your Father! Rest in His love! Oh, rejoice in your Father's love! Oh, rejoice in the love of Jesus, in the love of Jesus, oh, for it passeth knowledge! Oh, the length, oh, the breadth, oh, the height, oh, the depth of the love of Jesus! oh, it passeth knowledge! Oh, rejoice in the love of Jesus! Oh, sinner! for what, for what, what, oh sinner, what can separate, separate, separate from the love of Jesus? Oh, nothing, nothing! Oh, none can pluck you out of His hands! Oh, none shall be able to pluck you out of your Father's hand!"

Irving then, the sermon being concluded, intimates that the church is free throughout, no pew letting being permitted — thus forestalling, as in various other respects, the anxious endeavours of a most important part of the English Church—that it is to be open ten times a-week for public worship, besides four other services to which only the members of the Church are admitted, "with such devout persons as they may introduce by tickets," all others being excluded *except to the porch* of the church. This intimation is scarcely completed, when Mr. Drummond's voice again breaks forth:—

"Ah, be ye warned! be ye warned! Ye have been warned. The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of your enemies. Ah, look you well to it! The city shall be builded — ah! every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load—each under his load; but see that ye build with one hand, and with a weapon in the other. Look to it — look to it. Ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat; the Horonite, the

Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah! confederate, confederate, confederate with the Horonite! Ah, look ye to it, look ye to it!"

The benediction concluded the service.

Thus concluded this singular service. The reader will perceive that there is actually nothing in those exclamations to which the most orthodox believer could object; but will most probably wonder, as I confess I cannot help doing, why it should have been necessary to interrupt the voice of the preacher for utterances which convey so little, and which to read them in common print and daylight, are not more, but less profound and instructive than the strain of the discourse which pauses to give them place; many of the services, however, are much less frequently interrupted, and some not at all. In one of them occurs a curious instance of the expanded ritual grafted upon the old usage, in a series of short addresses spoken to each individual communicant by name, with which Irving accompanied the distribution of the "tokens;" and in which every man and woman of all those unknown appellations receives a curious identity in all the various particulars of poverty and prosperity, age and youth.

Little further of Irving's personal history appears in this eventful and exciting year. Amid all its agitation, one can fancy a certain repose lighting upon him after the fiery trial with which it began. He was forsaken of his friends, yet love still surrounded him; he had suffered injustice, despite, and loss, but the immediate pangs were over. Already he had been promised the mission of a great prophet to his dear native country, and solace was in the thought; and though Baxter had

fallen, there were other prophets standing close around him, who renewed and held up to the continued hope of the Church those predictions which they believed Baxter to have too rashly interpreted, too suddenly desired fruition of—and the sky before the separated community was still bright with glorious hopes.

This momentary calm was, however, once more broken, in October, by warnings of renewed trouble. The Church of Scotland was in no manner called upon to interfere. The scene of his labours was beyond her jurisdiction, and he seems to have had no immediate intention of visiting Scotland, or bringing himself within the reach of her anathema. But, perhaps, it was impossible that any merely human corporation of men, actuated by no greater self-control than their fellows, could have passed over the solemn and indignant *Judgment* pronounced upon their proceedings by Irving, in the *Morning Watch*, without using such means of reprisal as were in their power. The General Assembly of 1831 had issued orders to any Presbytery which might find him ministering within their bounds, to "take action" against him for his heretical views; but, stimulated by assault, it had quickened its movements, and by means of its Commission, a kind of representative committee, had given orders to the Presbytery which ordained Irving to proceed at once to his trial. The Presbytery of Annan, accordingly, bestirred themselves. They wrote to him, demanding whether he was the author of three tracts which they specified. Under the circumstances, his answer was purely voluntary; but, with his usual candour, he replied at once, with full avowal of the fact, and vehement condemnation of the General

Assembly, with which he declared himself able henceforth "to make no relationship but that of open and avowed enmity." The expressions he used on this occasion were almost violent—his vexed spirit, to which no rest was permitted, bursting forth in words more suitable to an Ezekiel than to a man unjustified by inspiration. In his view, the highest court of the Church of Scotland had rejected God in all the threefold character of his revelation—in the love of the Father, the humanity of the Son, and the operations of the Holy Ghost; and his heart burned with a solemn and lofty indignation, all the more intense for the love and reverence with which he had formerly regarded the Church of his fathers.

With this renewed thunderbolt hanging over him, he went through the remainder of the year. "We are all well, and the Lord forbeareth greatly with such unworthy creatures, and aboundeth in love to us for Christ's sake," are the words with which he concludes a letter in December. A certain exhaustion, yet calm of heart, breathes out of the words. Scarcely a man of all those with whom he had been used to take counsel but had fallen aloof, and stood afar off, disapproving, perhaps condemning—and, what was a still harder trial to Irving, calling that which to him was the work of the Holy Ghost, a delusion. But his heart was worn out with much suffering; and, in the interval of conflict, a certain tranquillity, half of weariness, enveloped his troubled life.

CHAPTER VI.

1833.

THE course of events went on in natural development after the separation of Irving and his little community. To a large extent secluded within themselves, they carried out their newly established principles and "waited upon the Lord," as perhaps no other community of modern days has ever dreamed of doing, guiding themselves and their ordinances implicitly by the teaching of the oracles in the midst of them. In this career of daily increasing isolation, Irving had not only lost the support of his immediate personal friends in London, but also of those much-loved brethren in faith, in whose defence he had lifted his mighty voice, and for whom he had denounced the Church of Scotland. Mr. Scott, though entertaining the full conviction that miraculous gifts were part of the inheritance of Christians, and after doing much to perfect that belief in Irving's own mind, as well as in those of the first ecstatic speakers, had totally refused his sanction to the present utterances; and the two friends were now separated to drift further and further apart through all imaginable degrees of unlikeness. Mr. Campbell, for whose distinctive views Irving had

stood forth so warmly, and whom he had embraced with all the overflowing sympathy and love of his heart, was equally unable to perceive any evidences of Divine inspiration. An impression seems to have prevailed, if not in Irving's mind, at least among several members of his community, that both these gentlemen would naturally fall into their ranks, and add strength and stability to the new Church. I have in my possession notes of a correspondence carried on some time later between Mr. Campbell and some members of the Newman Street Church, in which the Scotch minister had to hold his ground against two most acute and powerful opponents — one of whom was Henry Drummond, brilliant and incisive in controversy, as in most other things — and to defend and justify himself for not joining them. To lose the sympathy of these special brethren was very grievous to Irving; and he seized the opportunity of explaining the ground of his faith and that of his people in answer to some questions which Mr. Campbell very early in this year addressed to Mr. David Ker, one of the deacons in Newman Street, and a member of a well-known family in Greenock, in the immediate neighbourhood of which the "gifts" had first displayed themselves. This letter, which I quote, shows that Irving's own faith had needed very absolute props to support it, and that he had not proceeded so far upon his martyr-path without such trial of doubts and misgivings as could only be quenched by a confidence in his own sincerity and utter trust in God's promise possible to very few men under any circumstances. Once more he reiterated with sorrowful constancy his

certain conviction that to His children, when they asked for bread, God would not give a stone.

"14, Newman Street, February 22, 1833.

"My dear Brother,—When our dear David Ker asked me counsel concerning the answering of the questions in your letter, touching the ground of faith in spiritual utterance, I deemed it best to take the matter in hand for him altogether, and do now hope to deliver the mind of God to you in this matter. The view of the dear brethren in Port-Glasgow,* to wit, the answer of the spirit in the hearer, is the ground of belief in any word spoken by any man or by any spirit; but it is only the basis or ground thereof, and by no means resolves the question in hand. There is a confidence in God which goes far beyond the answer of the spirit, and enables us to walk in the darkness as well as in the light; for His footsteps are not known. This confidence pertaineth to him that is of a pure heart and single eye, and conscious of integrity, and clearness in His sight. I believe that this sustained our Lord in the crooked paths wherein God led him, and that it was, and is, and ever will be, the main, yea, the only evidence by which the prophet, having the word of God coming to him, shall know it is the word of God, and as such speak it; by which also the hearer shall know it is the word of God, and as such hear it. It is true that God leadeth men into temptation, as he did Abraham, and then it is their part to obey implicitly the word of the Lord, and the Lord will bring them out of the temptation to His own glory and to their own good. I declare, for myself and for my Church, that this is almost our entire safety, to wit, confidence that our God will take care of us; for we are not a reasoning people, but we seek to be, and I believe are, the servants of God. Moreover we have great faith in the stability of an ordinance. We look up to the deacons, and the elders, and the angel of the Church, as standing in the Lord Jesus, and we expect and desire to see and hear Him in their ministry, and we believe that it will be to us according to our faith, and we have found it to be so in times past. But forasmuch as the voice of the

* Where the "manifestations" first took place: see *ante*, p. 132.

Comforter is the highest of all ordinances in the Church, we steadily believe that the Lord for His own name, as well as for His own end's sake, will not suffer, without a very great cause, any breaking in or breaking out therein; and so, when he openeth the mouth of a brother in power, we expect to hear His voice, and we are not disappointed, and so our experience increaseth our expectation, and in this way we proceed and prosper. In respect of signs, we rather desire them not, than desire them at present, until the word of our God shall have delivered us from our carnal-mindedness, and from following sight instead of faith. When the Lord permitted the enemy to tempt us, seeing our simplicity, He himself delivered us from the temptation, and we learned the more to trust Him and to distrust ourselves. And, oh brother, the fountain which is opened having yielded us nothing but sweet waters, it would be so ungrateful for us to do anything but rejoice it, that I feel even this letter to be a liberty with my God, which, save for a brother's satisfaction, I would not have ventured to take. There are many things now that I could say, but I refrain lest I should encourage a temptation in you to speculate about holy things, and so lead you into a snare. I pray God to keep you in the faith of Him, in darkness as in light, and no less, when in light than in darkness. Farewell.

"Your faithful brother,

"EDWARD IRVING."

Another letter of a similar character was addressed a few months later to Alan Ker, of Greenock, a man who, long confined to a sick room, and at all times in the most precarious health, seems to have secured always the love, and often the reverential regard, of those who knew him.

"London, April 30, 1833.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—Your brother gave me, after our worship on the Lord's day, a letter of yours to read, which I returned to him on Monday morning after our public prayers,

with little or no comment, and with no purpose of writing to you myself, nor does he know that I am now about to write; but having a great love to you and to your father's house, and admiring the brotherly love which reigneth amongst you, and being well acquainted with the ground whereon you and others are stumbling, and not going forward with us into the glorious city, I take heart of loving-kindness to write to you, my brother, and do what I can to help you forward.

"The word of the Lord, my Scottish brethren, since Adam fell, hath never been a copy of itself, but always a new growth and form of the same good purpose which the Father purposed in Himself before the world was, and revealeth in His dear Son through the Church, which is the fulness of Him who filleth all in all. . . . . And, thou, O Alan, who lookest from thy sick chamber with pious delight upon the works of thy Creator, dost not expect the green blade which now pierces the ground to continue in its beautiful verdure, but to shoot out into the stalk and the ear, and the full corn in the ear. But you will not permit such variety of forms in the growth of the works of the Lord, but go to the Apostolical writings and say, 'It must be this over again,' wherein ye grieve God, not walking by faith but by sight. Ye see the historical notices there written, and ye say, 'Now we will guide our own steps and keep our own way.' Your own steps you may guide; but God's steps are not known. Your own way you may find, but God's by searching you cannot find. Think ye that Abraham took test of God by his dealings with Noah? or Moses by Abraham? or the Apostles, at Pentecost, by the schools of the prophets in Bethel or in Gilgal? If we have the word of the Lord, we have the word of the Lord and nothing else, and the word of the Lord shall shape the work of the Lord, and not thou or I, nay, not Paul, nor Peter, nor Moses, but He of whose fulness they all received—Jesus the Word made flesh who sitteth in the heavens, and speaketh in the midst of us—and of you also, brethren beloved of the Lord. . . . . Dear Alan, if there were anything spoken or done amongst us, which is meant, or intended, to abrogate, or weaken one jot or tittle of the Law or the Prophets, let it be anathema! But it is not

so; there is no word in Scripture to say that an apostle should have seen the Lord. Read again, brother. When thou showest it me written that no one is an apostle who has not seen the Lord, I will say that John Cardale is not an apostle, although the spirit that speaketh here and in all other parts were to say that he *was* ten thousand times. Neither, brother, is it said in Scripture that an apostle is to be tried by signs and wonders and mighty deeds; although these belong to an apostle, and an evangelist, and an elder, and to thee also, if thou hast faith; for these signs shall follow them that believe: and art thou not a believer, O brother, because the signs in thee have not been manifested? . . . . Why stand ye afar off? Come to the help of the Lord against the mighty, lest the curse of Meroz come upon you; for, brother, it is no question of logic, but the losing or gaining of a crown.

"Next, ye are envious of me—ye think that I am usurping it in the House of God, and ye brook not that an apostle should be under me. The apostle is over the angel of the Church, and the angel of the Church is over the apostle—ye Scottish people, why will ye attempt spiritual things with carnal reason? I give ye forth another contradiction to call heresy. The angel of the Church is over the apostle, and the apostle is over the angel of the Church. 'First, apostles,' &c.,—and then—'Thou hast proved them that say they are apostles, and hast found them liars.' Now, doth Jesus write His epistles to the apostles of the Churches, or to the angels of the Churches? But by whom writeth He them? Is it not by an apostle? So receive I, through an apostle, my instructions; and having received them, the apostle himself is the first man that must bow to them, and I will take good care that he doth so, lest he should exalt himself to the seat of our common Master, who alone is complete within Himself, and all his office-bearers are worthless worms, useless, profitless—grievous offenders, ever offending, whom He maketh by His grace and power ever worthy, obedient, and offenceless. Oh, children, I am broken in my heart daily with your slowness of faith!

"Finally, my dear brother, if you ask what it is that we know our Lord by, I answer by the mercy, the grace,

the truth, the holiness, the righteous judgments which . . . . in these times and in all times belong to Him alone . . . we know it is Jehovah, and none but He, who through the mouth of a weak and sinful prophet, through the hand of a weak and sinful apostle, hath wrought the work of separating a Church out of this corner of Babylon. . . . . But, in respect of His way, it is in the dark waters, and of his footsteps, they are not known; only this know we, that we have committed our way unto the Lord, and that we are seeking to depart from our own ways; for our ways are not his ways, nor our thoughts his thoughts; therefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, cease ye betimes from suspicion, and from judging, for otherwise ye shall not be guiltless, and the Lord is stronger than you—but abide in love to them that love you, and have been beholden to you for many prayers and much fellowship, and would now repay you with a share of whatever grace, understanding, and wisdom the Lord giveth unto us. . . . . To Him who is the life and the head, and the Lord sovereign and paramount, whom we serve in pureness of heart and mind, through the cleansing of His blood and effectual ministry of His Spirit, be all honour and glory, for ever. Amen.

"Your faithful servant, for the Lord's sake,

"EDWARD IRVING."

The singular junction in these letters of the ruling "Angel" of the Church, retaining all his natural influence and sway, who "will take good care" that the apostle does bow to his authority — with the simple and absolute believer, confident that he is serving God in utter sincerity, and that God will not deceive him, nor suffer him to be deceived in his unbounded trust, is very remarkable. In this lies the clue which many of Irving's critics have sought in vain, and which some have imagined themselves able to trace to motives which appear in no other

manifestation of his heroic and simple soul. While one portion of his friends are affectionately lamenting the blind faith with which he delivers over his understanding to the guidance of the "gifted"—and another are impatiently fretting over the credulity which to their calm sense is inconceivable, this is the attitude in which the object of so many animadversions stands. Vulgar voices outside assail him, the soul of honour, with imputations of imposture and religious fraud; friends, more cruel, suggest sometimes a hectic inclination towards the marvellous—sometimes the half-conscious desire of attracting back again the fashionable crowds of early days. Singularly unlike all these representations he here presents himself. Years before, he had called his brother with him from the Kirkcaldy manse-parlour to join in his prayers for a dying man, in the sublime confidence that "what two of you shall agree together to ask, it shall be done unto them of my Father." Years have not changed his confidence in that unchanging God. He stands gazing with eyes abstracted upon the skies which that burning gaze can all but pierce; he has put his Master to His word; and having done so, the servant of God cannot descend from that mount of prayer to the cool criticism of other men. First in the matter to a mind at all times so exalted, and to which all nature was miraculous, was that Lord to whom he had appealed; as he explains himself from those heights of perpetual prayer, a certain impatience, strangely like the impatience with which the watchers below contemplate him in his incomprehensible simplicity, breathes from his impassioned words: "I

am broken in my heart daily with your slowness of faith;" and his explanation is, if anything, more incomprehensible than his acts, to men, who, lost in all the complications of a world growing old, can only gaze amazed at that primitive standing-ground on which, as if he had been born in the days of Moses or Abraham, this man of the nineteenth century has found footing. How any man dares believe that he himself is utterly sincere in his asking, and sure of an answer — how any man ventures openly to assume for himself that position to which the Bible calls every man — and how, dismissing all further question, he can lift his abstracted ear, and give his rapt soul to the infallible reply — is a mystery which nobody can penetrate. Such a position devout men may attain to at the supreme and secret moments of individual life. I can no more explain or comprehend that ineffable primitive elevation than could Irving's curious observers, who saw him standing forth in it, a sign and wonder to the world. But there he *did* stand absolute, in a primitive heroic faith.

And, granting this miraculous postulate, there is, in everything Irving does thereafter, a certain lofty reasonableness which does but still more and more bewilder the minds of his auditors. The region into which he had entered appeared so entirely one beyond reason, that the outside observers expected to find nothing that was not wild and irregular, according to all the traditions of enthusiasm and spiritual excitement, there. But Irving, with his exalted heart, to which no miracle seems too wonderful, keeps, in the midst of all that wild agitation, the limits of God's word and

man's nature in utter distinction from such a rash enthusiast as the prophet Baxter, whom even at the height of his inspiration the pastor continually interposes to calm and moderate. When the latter fancies that he has been commanded by God to abandon his family and profession, to appear before the King in "testimony," and to suffer the pains of martyrdom, Irving comes in upon his heated visions with the suggestion, that "if a man provide not for those of his own house he is worse than an infidel"—proving his own declaration, that if in anything the utterances controverted Scripture, he was content that they should "be anathema." Throughout his pleadings before the Presbytery of London, and in the letters I have just quoted, nothing seems to me so remarkable as this reasonableness, only allowing the truth of the first grand assumption, that the "work" was the work of God. But this reason, governing the actions of a man on such a sublimated level of existence, does only perplex and confuse the more, those curious, anxious, interested spectators who might have ventured to hope it was a merely temporary delusion, had everything about it been equally wild and irregular — but who were struck dumb by this visionary application, to such a matter, of those rules of trial and experiment common, in the ordinary affairs of life, to all sane and vigorous minds.

The year was little more than begun when Irving had again to enter into direct conflict with his former brethren. The question was changed as well as the scene. Before the hasty and reckless Presbytery of London he had defended himself against the impu-

tation of having suffered unauthorised persons to speak in his church. The Presbytery of Annan, who had ordained him, now called him to their bar to answer the charge of holding heretical doctrine: viz., the sinfulness of our Lord's humanity. This doctrine, concerning which Irving, at first, wist not that there was any controversy, had by this time created a little controversial literature of its own in the excited theological world — a literature in which that holy and perfect existence, which both parties professed to adore, was made the subject of discussions, always more or less profane, in which both parties forgot, in horror at each other's statements, the reverence and awe which neither statement had, till controversy arose, done anything to impugn. I know nothing more painful, nor, indeed, in some of its phases, more hideous and revolting, than the hot contest, preserved in many scattered publications, fortunately now almost forgotten, which rose over this mysterious and awful subject. From the trials in the Scotch Church courts where ignorant witnesses delivered their opinions on "the hypostatical union," to the revolting physical argument by which some writers of higher pretensions laboured to establish what proportion of its substance a child derived from its mother, the whole discussion is throughout destructive — so far as any external influence can be so — of that tender, profound, and adoring reverence which no man living ever felt more deeply than he who was accused of aiming at its subversion. I do not believe there was any *real* difference whatever between the faith of devout men on the opposite sides of this question.

Those who held, with Irving, that our Lord took the flesh of man as He found it, and was our true brother, disowned with horror and indignation the most distant thought that sin ever soiled or breathed upon that holy flesh; and those who believed Him to have come in a certain Eden-fiction of humanity, not so much Holy as Innocent, were, nevertheless, when off this vexing controversy, as ready as any to claim the privilege of Christians, that sympathy of the fellow-sufferer—that tenderest compassion which comes from experiment of all our sorrows and temptations—with which practically every Christian soul knows its Lord invested. The men were fighting in the dark with deadly weapons of those words which confuse and obscure the truth. They were in their hearts at one, both holding a Head absolute in divine holiness and purity, perfect in human fellowship and tenderness; — but the words were external and demonstrative, and the hearts could not make themselves audible in any other than that belligerent human language which does but half express and half conceal every spiritual reality. So it came about that the Church of Scotland, then so impatient and absolute, and resolute for identity of expression as well as agreement of faith, had to enact another scene in this strange episode of history, and wear with another sharp struggle Irving's sorrowful and troubled soul.

I am in doubt whether it is not ungenerous to specify the members of this Annan Presbytery; for it is probable that any other presbytery in the Church would have come to an exactly similar conclusion. I may say, however, that the names of these obscure

Presbyters will recall to all who have any local acquaintance with the district, no such recollections as hallow the names of many a humble parish priest; but will bring many an anecdote of eccentricity, and some of that peculiar clerical profaneness which is to be found in no other profession, to the memories of those men of Annandale who know the traditions of the last generation. The one exception to the perfect obscurity and homeliness of this little clerical group was Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, a man of universally acknowledged eminence and high character. Of the rest, some were homely old men, half farmers, half ministers — some of better standing, half ministers, half country gentlemen, both on a very small scale. Without a single special qualification for deciding any question which required clear heads and practised intelligence, from their moorland manses and rural cares, they came, with such solemnity as they could muster, to try a question for which, in primitive times, a solemn council of the whole Church would have been convened. Not very long before, Irving himself, always magnificent and visionary, bent not upon the practicable but the right, had pointed out, in the preface to his edition of the *Standards of the Church of Scotland*, the necessity for a grand Catholic Council, such as that of Nicea, to consider and settle the momentous matters which then divided the Reformed Churches. He had also appealed, in still earlier days, with earnest personal solicitations, to the large intelligence of Chalmers, as doctor and head of the theological faculty; but neither œcumenical council nor learned judge was to be afforded to the so-called

heretic. They came in their gigs from among their sheep farmers, from the anxieties of the glebe, and its tiny crops, those nameless Annandale ministers — not pale theologians, but rosy, rural men; and to their hands, all irresponsible in their safe obscurity, the decision of this momentous and delicate difference of doctrine was calmly committed — nobody so much as perceiving, at least nobody remarking upon, the total incompetence of such a tribunal for any real settlement of the question.

"Edward goes down to Annan to meet the Presbytery, I think on the 12th March. The Lord give him a sound mind!" writes Dr. Martin to one of the affectionate and anxious family, who watched all Irving's proceedings with tender curiosity. He went by way of Manchester, from which place, where his only surviving sister still lives, he wrote to his wife of his affectionate meeting with his kindred there — "my dear and precious mother, and my two sisters and all their children here present" — and took time to remark that "two sweeter children I have not seen," than the little nephew and niece whom he mentions by name. This, and the fact that he had dropped the bag of sandwiches prepared for his refreshment on the journey "on the highway for the benefit of some poor one or other; I lost it and grudged not" — is all that is contained, besides his never-failing benediction, in the rapid note of the wayfarer. On the morning of the 13th of March he "arrived at Annan," according to the report of the trial, afterwards published, "by the London mail, and was met by Mr. Ker, of London, one of his deacons. A crowd was col-

lected in the street, in expectation of the reverend gentleman's arrival by the mail; and, upon his alighting at the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, where the coach stopped on its way to the inn, the crowd, which was at that time dispersed in groups, ran eagerly to the spot, to catch a glimpse of their celebrated townsman. In the course of the forenoon, hundreds of individuals of all classes kept pouring into Annan from the neighbourhood; and parties, in vehicles of different descriptions, came in from Dumfries, Carlisle, Longtown, and other neighbouring towns. Twelve o'clock was the hour appointed for the proceedings to commence at the parish church, and by that time the place was literally crammed. It is computed that at least 2,000 persons were assembled." Irving was accompanied by Mr. Ker, by a Mr. Smith, who had been the companion of his journey, and by the Rev. David Dow, formerly of Irongray, a minister of the Church of Scotland, who had some time before received the "gift of tongues and prophecy."

After the court was constituted, the libel or indictment was read. In this document, which was of great length, Irving was accused of "printing, publishing, and disseminating heresies and heretical doctrines, particularly the doctrine of the fallen state and sinfulness of our Lord's human nature." No evidence of any kind, except the admission of the accused that he was the author of *The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of Our Lord's Human Nature; The Day of Pentecost;* and one specified article in the *Morning Watch*, seems to have been considered necessary. A discussion then ensued upon the "relevancy of the libel" — or rather

no discussion, for all were agreed, but a statement by each member of the Presbytery, individually, of his opinion. Dr. Duncan, the only man among them whose name was ever heard out of Annandale, contented himself with declaring the libel to be "relevant." Two of the members of Presbytery, however, made speeches on the occasion. The first, Mr. Sloan, of Dornoch, the hero of many local anecdotes, deplored "the difficulties under which he laboured in rising to combat with one of so great a name as the Reverend Edward Irving — one with whom he was in many respects so unequally yoked — though, notwithstanding that, as the stripling David slew the giant Goliath with a stone from the brook, having gone forth in the strength of the Lord, so he hoped to succeed in proving the heresy of even so great a giant as that reverend gentleman." After a considerable time spent in these preliminaries, Irving was permitted to speak in defence. His speech is throughout a noble and indignant protest against that disingenuous statement of the point at issue, which infallibly prejudged the question, and which no amount of denial or protest could ever induce his opponents to alter. With a warmth and earnestness becoming the importance of the cause, he thus pleaded for a true understanding of his own faith :—

"As to my maintaining that Christ is other than most holy, I do protest that it is not true. It is not true!—before the living God, I do declare it is false. And, though all men should say it is true, I say it is false, and that it proceeds from the father of lies. It has been held up in every pulpit within this land that I have preached and disseminated doctrines inconsistent with the unity of God. Albeit I deny

it — I deny it! It is a lie. It has not a shadow of foundation in truth. I would give my life, and, if I had ten thousand lives, I would give them all to maintain the contrary. It is an unjust slander. I never wrote, I never preached, such damnable doctrine; and that all honest men can say. I stand in this place, and say that I am ready to die for it. . . . . I stand here, a witness for the Lord Jesus, to tell men what He did for them; and what He did was this — He took your flesh and made it holy, thereby to make you holy; and therefore He will make every one holy who believes in Him. He came into your battle and trampled under foot Satan, the world, the flesh, yea, all enemies of living men, and He saith to every one, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy.' Do you say that THAT man was unacquainted with grief — that He was unacquainted with the warrings of the flesh? I dare ye to say that the Lord your Saviour had an easier passage through life than you had. I dare ye to say that His work was a holiday work. Is this your gratitude to the Captain of your salvation? Can you follow in His footsteps, if He did not do the work? . . . (The rev. gentleman then turned to the 40th Psalm, which he proceeded to read and comment upon.) 'I waited patiently for the Lord; he inclined his ear, and heard my cry,' &c. But ye say He was never in the pit, nor the clay. But I say HE WAS IN BOTH; and, moreover, that all the water-floods of the Divine wrath passed over Him, and that the Father left him to mourn with a great mourning. . . . The apostles taught out of the Psalms, and not from Confessions of Faith and traditionary documents. But show me the Psalm where it is written that He does not call our sins His own. But was He sinful? No; but look ye, the very reverse of sin inhered in His soul. He suffered because He loved you—and now you dare to say that He loved you not. Be ashamed to this day, ye people! that ye know not more of Him who suffered so much for you. He bore your sin. This broke His heart. . . . . Now, men and brethren, I am here this day to tell you the truth as it is in Jesus."

DR. DUNCAN rose and said that it was evident Mr. Irving was speaking to the people of his own doctrines, not to the Presbytery in his defence.

MR. IRVING: "Oh no, no. Don't prevent me saying what I wish in my defence."

THE MODERATOR said, it seemed to him as if Mr. Irving imagined he was in London, preaching to his people there.

MR. IRVING: "Oh no, no,—it is not so! I know well where I now stand. I stand in the place where I was born, in the church wherein I was first baptized and then ordained. . . . . Ye ministers, elders, and presbytery! This is no question of scholastic theology. I speak for the sanctification of men. I wish my flock to be holy; and, unless the Lord Jesus has contended with sin, as they are commanded to do, how can they be holy when they follow Him? Can I ask the people to do or suffer more than He did? He is the Captain of their salvation, and I wish them to follow Him! Can a soldier who is sick, wounded, or dead, be expected to follow a leader who is filled with the omnipotence of God? Nay! But if his captain be sick, wounded, and dead, too, may he not ask the soldier to do the like? Now Jesus was sick for us, contended with sinful flesh for us, and hence it is that He can call on us to follow Him in our contendings with sin, our sicknesses, and deaths. Yea, and He does call on us. . . . . Ah, was He not holy? Did He not gain for us a victory? Holy in His mother's womb; holy in His childhood; holy in His advancing years; holy in His nativity; holy in His resurrection, and not more holy in one than in another? And He calls upon you to be holy — and this is what He says, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy.' This is my doctrine. . . . . Mock me not by speaking of popularity. The reproaches of a brother are hard to bear. Ye know not what I have suffered; you know not what it is to be severed from a flock you love; to be banished from your house; to be driven from a place of worship in which ye have been honoured, as God's servants, by the tokens of His approbation. Yet, though thus scorned and trampled on, truth is prevailing. You shall not go one half mile in London but you shall see some of our Scottish youth, yea, and of our English youth also, standing up to preach that truth for which I now appear at this bar. At Charing Cross, at London Bridge, at the Tower, and in all the high places of the city, you shall find them preaching to a perishing

people, and, though often hooted and pelted, yet patient withal. And I am sure the day is not far distant when the Evangelist shall go forth and be listened to throughout the land.

"Ministers and elders of the Presbytery of Annan! I stand at your bar by no constraint of man. You could not—no person on earth could—have brought me hither. I am a free man on a free soil, and living beyond your bounds. Neither General Assembly nor Pope has a right to meddle with me. Yea, I know ye have sinned against the Head of the Church, in stretching thus beyond your measure, and this sin ye must repent of. . . . Is it nothing, think ye, that ye have brought me from my flock of nine hundred souls, besides children, looking up to me for spiritual food? Is it nothing that ye have taken me away from ruling among my apostles and elders, and brought me three hundred miles to stand before you at this bar? . . . . I stand here not by constraint, but willingly. Do what you like. I ask not judgment of you; my judgment is with my God."

I will not attempt to enter into the decision of the Presbytery of Annan, as contained in the speeches delivered, one by one, of its clerical members. The only one reported at any length is that of Dr. Duncan, who repeats for the hundredth time those passages which Irving was as ready to quote and adopt as any man, in which the Virgin's child is spoken of as *that holy thing*, and which describe our Lord as "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners," and "tempted like as we are, yet without sin." Calmly ignoring the fact that the accused maintains that perfect and spotless sinlessness, with an earnestness which is almost passion, it is on these quotations that this honest and able Presbyter grounds his sentence. The other men, whose arguments are not recorded, agree one by one. The accused is pronounced to be "guilty

as libelled." The Moderator then asks him if he has any objection to state, why sentence of deposition should not be passed against him. "Objection! all objection," exclaims the defendant at that strange bar; "I object, not for my own sake, but for the sake of Christ my Lord, whom I serve and honour. I object for your sakes . . . . . I object for the Church's sake." "The reverend gentleman," continues the report from which I quote, "again solemnly declared that he did not hold the sinfulness of the human nature of Christ . . . . . and concluded by most earnestly beseeching the Presbytery, as they valued the salvation of their souls, not to pass sentence upon him." Upon which ensued the following singular and exciting scene: —

"The Moderator was then about to proceed to the solemn duty which had devolved upon him, and, as a preliminary, requested Mr. Sloan, the senior member of the Presbytery, to offer up a prayer to Almighty God, when a voice was heard from the pew in which Mr. Irving was seated, and which was immediately found to be that of Mr. Dow, late minister of Irongray, exclaiming, 'Arise, depart! Arise, depart! flee ye out, flee ye out of her! Ye cannot pray! How can ye pray? How can ye pray to Christ whom ye deny? Ye cannot pray. Depart, depart! flee, flee!' The scene at this moment was singular, and the commotion in the gallery not a little astounding. As there was only one candle in the church, no one, at first, knew whence or from whom the voice proceeded; and it was not till one of the clergymen had lifted the candle and looked peeringly about that he discovered the interjectional words spoken were emitted by Mr. Dow. . . . . The assembly, which was very numerous, and had acted in the most becoming manner, now became confused, and Mr. Dow rose to leave the house. Mr. Irving, who was proceeding to follow his friend, then exclaimed, also with great vehemence, and apparently to the crowd, that

somewhat obstructed his passage, 'Stand forth! stand forth! What! will ye not obey the voice of the Holy Ghost? As many as will obey the voice of the Holy Ghost let them depart.'"

Thus, in the twilight of the March night, through crowds of confused and wondering spectators, who heard that unlooked-for outcry without being able to see whence it proceeded, Irving went forth from the church where he had been baptised and ordained—from the Church of Scotland, the sanctuary of his fathers—never more to enter within walls dedicated to her worship till he entered in silent pomp to wait the resurrection and advent of his Lord. There are, perhaps, few more striking scenes in his life than this in his native church, filled with all those throngs of native friends—old people, who had helped to form his mind—contemporaries of his own, who had watched his wonderful progress with a thrill of pride and amaze; men to whom he had been a brother; wistful women, scarcely able, for awe and pity, to keep the tears within their eyes. From that May-day in which he knelt there before his Master and took his ordination vows—swearing a true faith which he had never broken, a loyal allegiance and service to which he had been true, with the fidelity of a spotless knight—to this bleak afternoon of March, slowly shadowing, minute by minute, upon those clouds of eager faces, growing pale in the darkness, what a brilliant interval, what a wonderful difference! Clouds and coming night were now upon the path to which he went forth, commanded by the Holy Ghost: no longer triumph and victory, no second spring of hope—

only the reproach that broke his heart—the desertion—the sin, as he held it, of his brethren, for whom he would have given his life. But it was a comfort to his forlorn heart to be sent forth by that voice which he believed to be the voice of God. The anguish of hearing the sentence of deposition was spared him, and with a pathetic joy he rejoiced over this when he gave his own account of the eventful day.

Left behind in the dark church, with their two thousand tremulous, amazed spectators, and their solitary candle, the Presbytery deposed him from the ministry—took away from him, as far as they could do it, his clerical character, and pronounced him no longer a minister or member of the Church of Scotland; then, after seven hours' sitting, went after him into the darkness, and disappeared henceforth out of all mortal ken—except in Annandale, to be seen no more.

Irving's own report of the proceedings was sent next day to London, addressed as follows:—

"To the Church of Christ under my pastoral care, and to the saints in London, with the elders and deacons — grace, mercy, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, our Glory: —

"DEARLY-BELOVED IN THE LORD, ... Yesterday I arrived here with my dear brother, Robert Smith . . . . and immediately after us arrived David Dow, and Mr. Nivan, and another brother, by whose coming I was much encouraged. After we had prayed together, we met the Presbytery at noon in the parish church, which was filled with people, and straightway the ministers began to accuse me of heresy, because I preached and published the glorious name and work of God as the Word made flesh. They put several questions to me concerning their manner of proceeding against me, to

which I would not answer a word, telling them to do their own work in their own way, for that I would not in anywise make myself a sharer in their guilt; nevertheless, I took this early opportunity of disabusing the people, and solemnly protesting before the living God that I was guiltless of the thought, word, or wish of making our Blessed and Holy One a sinner. They then proposed to have a private conference with me in the Sessions-house, apart from all the people, when God gave me grace to refuse to every one of them the right hand of fellowship, yea, and not to eat bread with them, and drink wine with them; and to tell them that they had lifted up the standard of rebellion against the Lord Jesus Christ, and that I would hold no conference of friendship with them, but be at open and avowed enmity until they had ceased from persecuting His faithful members. So I sat in the midst of them in silence and sorrow, very much burdened and afflicted in soul that I should be thus called upon to separate myself from them, of whom many were members of the church before me, and some of them had laid their hands on me. We then returned to the church and the great congregation, when, having received liberty to speak for myself, I was strengthened by your prayers to speak with great boldness for the name of Jesus, and to justify His truth, and to vindicate myself as a member of Christ; also to reprove and rebuke them all, both elders and people, of their sins, and to proclaim in their hearing the coming of the Blessed One, and the mercy and truth which are now going before Him to prepare His way and set us in His steps. Oh, it was a gracious and a sweet opportunity which He gave me of certifying to His great name, and His perfect work of mercy and judgment. They then proceeded, one after another, to pronounce me worthy of being deposed from the holy ministry;—and having asked me if I had any objection to their doing so, I had another opportunity of pointing out to them the awful sin of which they were about to be guilty, and of protesting, before God and all the people, that I was innocent of all the things laid to my charge. Then they were proceeding to the fearful act; and as it is required that they shall first pray before the sentence of deposition is pronounced, they had asked the oldest member to pray; but the Lord had mercy in store for

His servant, and would not suffer them to lay their hands upon me, whom the Holy Ghost had set as an angel in His Church, and as they rose to prayer, the Holy Ghost opened the mouth of David Dow, who sat at my right hand, and with awful power and solemnity commanded us who would bear the vessel of the Lord to depart, and touch not the unclean thing; and added unto them one word of bitter rebuke—'How can ye pray to God in any other name than in that which ye have rejected!' Wherefore we arose at the voice of the Lord and came forth, and I sang in my heart, 'Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth: our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler. The snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.' Now give thanks, my dearly-beloved, for the Lord himself hath broken my bonds. For six hours did He try me in that furnace, and, when He saw that I did bear it for His name's sake, and would not be diverted by their questions, nor enticed by their flatteries, from a faithful testimony to His name, and that I would not shake hands, nor eat bread, nor confess a friendship with those who were his enemies, He sent me that wonderful word and set me free. I had already resolved, and was thereunto instructed by the word of the Lord, while yet in the midst of you, neither to seek judgment at the hand of the Synod nor at the General Assembly, and had declared this in the hearing of them all, so that I did not wait in silence, in order to express my thanksgivings unto the Lord for my redemption out of all my bonds. But, behold, He would not suffer His servant to be dishonoured of them, and He snatched me away by this one word. Meditate on His goodness and give Him thanks. I then sent to the house of my sister, which joineth hard to the church, these two brothers, Robert Smith and David Ker, to publish to the people that I would preach to them to-morrow, that is, this day, at eleven o'clock, in the open field. And now, dearly beloved, when I saw the gross darkness of these poor ministers, and the errors with which they have filled the breasts and minds of the people in all these parts, I was much and powerfully convinced that it is my duty to tarry here some days, and preach the Gospel

to the benighted people around, for I do not see that there is any of the brethren upon whose hearts the Lord hath laid this as He hath upon mine . . . . and I do purpose, by the grace of God, to tarry in these parts certain days, and to publish in the towns of the coast the great Name of the Lord. I do therefore commend you to the Lord, and encourage the elders to strengthen themselves in their God, who will abundantly supply all your wants, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus. And now, well-beloved, I commend you to the Lord and to the riches of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified. Your faithful and loving pastor, and angel over Christ's flock in London,

"EDWD. IRVING.

"Annan, March 14, 1833."

A note appended to this general letter informed his wife that he intended to preach at Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and at some of the villages in Annandale. Except this brief notice, I know few details of his after proceedings. Wherever he did preach it was out of doors, and to thousands of excited and sympathetic listeners. At Cummertrees—on the Sands of Dumfries—and on a hill-side in Terregles, the fair *Terra Ecclesia*, through which Nith flows to the sea, his countryfolk gathered to hear him whose voice they were never more to hear again. It was a solemn leave-taking of his native hills and mosses. With an indignation vehement as only grief could make it, he denounced the Church which had cast him out, which had disowned not him but his Lord, who "came in the flesh"—and preached with an eloquence, more intense and enthralling than ever, Christ's fellowship and love, Christ's coming and glory. Then he took farewell of his kinsfolk, and returned to London, where, what I

cannot but believe must have been another and an equally hard trial awaited him. Deposed by his mother Church, he returned to Newman Street, to the little community which, according to ordinary ideas, he himself had originated and brought together, and of which he was supposed to be the ruling influence; and when he arrived there, with his wounded heart, he was received, not with extraordinary honours as a martyr, but with an immediate interdict, in "the power" forbidding him to exercise any priestly function, to administer sacraments, or to assume anything out of the province of a deacon, the lowest office in the newly-formed church. One of his relations writes with affectionate indignation that he was not permitted even to preach, except in those less sacred assemblies in which the outer world of unbelievers were admitted to meet the church; but in the church itself sat silent, deprived of his office, no longer the angel to whom the apostle himself had to bow, but a simple servant—doorkeeper in the house of the Lord. Such an inconceivable indignity, according to all human rules, did the spiritual authorities, whom his constant and steadfast faith had made masters of his flock, put upon their former leader. No expectation of any such setting aside seems to have been in Irving's mind when he subscribed himself their "faithful pastor and angel over Christ's flock." This, however, was the welcome he received when, sad and weary, he returned from Annan. As effectually as if the decree of the Scotch Church Court had bound that recalcitrant congregation, the deposed minister was silenced among them. I have no right to affirm that this was one

among the many wounds that went to his heart, for not a syllable of complaint upon the subject ever came from Irving's lips; but he seems to have had no expectation of so extraordinary a proceeding, and it is something entirely unprecedented in the records of religious organizations. Other men have founded sects to rule them; Irving, no founder of a sect, came forth, through repeated anguish and conflict, at the head of his community, only to serve and to obey.

Accordingly, those lingering March days glided on through all the oft devotions of the church: the prophets spoke and elders ruled—but in the midst of them Irving sat silent, listening wistfully, if perhaps the voice from heaven might come to restore him to that office which was the vocation of his life. Few of God's servants have been so profoundly tested; and small would have been the wonder had his much-afflicted soul given way under this last unkindness, with which Heaven itself seemed brought in, to give a climax to man's ingratitude. At last, while he sat in the lowest place, and waited with a humbleness to which I know no parallel—strangest and most touching proof of that sincerity to which, in the sight of God, he might well appeal—the "utterance" once more called the forlorn but dauntless warrior to take up his arms. By "the concurrent action in manifested supernatural power, both of prophet and apostle, he was called and ordained angel or chief pastor of the flock assembled in Newman Street," says the authorised "Chronicle" of that church. The sacred office, in which he had laboured for so many wonderful years, and won such usury of his Master's grand deposit—that office, in which for so

many sorrowful days his surprised soul had been stopped short and put aside—was restored to him by the apostolic hands of Mr. Cardale, at the command of one of the ecstatic speakers. And Irving accepted that re-ordination: he, upon whose devoted head no gifts of inspiration descended, and for whose deliverance no miracles were wrought—standing alone in the eminence of nature, among men, none of whom on any but this supernatural ground could ever have reached his side—stooped to the touch of the new apostle, and took back the ministry which, through many a long year, God Himself had sealed in the saving of souls. Not Ezekiel, when that prophet stood tearless, forbidden to weep, and saw the desire of his eyes buried out of his sight, was a more perfect sign to his generation than this loyal, humble, uncompensated soul.

In this moment of trouble and humiliation, heightened as it was with domestic anxiety, occasioned by the illness of his children, Irving's heart was still alive to all the solicitude of a Christian priest—that character bestowed by God, which neither presbytery could take away nor apostolic touch confer. Just then, when, so far as the intervention of the "gifted" could obscure it, the very countenance of his Master seemed withdrawn from him, a letter came from Kirkcaldy to the sorrowful pair in Newman Street, in which it appears—with that singular inhumanity which only importunate affection can carry to its full height—that the father-minister, in his manse, had taken the opportunity to open once more a full battery of arguments on the "Humanity" against Irving's wearied spirit. Forwarding this letter to his sister Elizabeth, the heart of the

pastor stirred in his troubled bosom. She and her husband had not followed him, could not believe as he did; with grief on both sides they had so far parted; but his thoughts were roused from his own troubles, when he saw a further attack made upon their faith:—

"London, March 27, 1833.

"MY DEAR ELIZABETH,—At Isabella's request, I enclose this letter from her father, that you may see how they all do. The Lord's hand is heavily upon us and our dear children. Martin and Ebenezer are both very ill, and my wife and I have been together up the great part of last night. She has laid down to get some rest. Dear Elizabeth and dear William, be not shaken from the true faith in which I founded you of our Lord's oneness with us, in all the infirmities and temptations, properties and accidents of the flesh, otherwise you will be subverted from the way of godliness altogether, and fall into Pharisaical pride and hypocritical formality. If you cannot go along and suffer with me in all things, stand upon the rock, or you sink into the waves. For, if the holiness of Jesus made Him avoid our flesh, must we not, as we grow holy, avoid sinners, instead of embracing them with our love, to draw them near, and so become Pharisees instead of Christians? And oh, my children, if the Son of God with our flesh could not be holy, how shall you and I in the flesh be holy—how should we be commanded to be holy? Oh, give not way, there, either to father or mother, or any mortal, else you go altogether. These words I write to you, because I know you can bear them, and lest our dear father's letter should prejudice your minds against the truth.

"Your faithful and loving brother,

"EDWD. IRVING."

Meanwhile, the youngest of the children continued very ill. "His mother said that the Lord had punished their child for their sin," writes Mrs. Hamilton, in

April, "which sin, I think, they conceive specially to be Edward's having remained in Scotland, after meeting with the Presbytery," an error for which, she proceeds to say, he was sharply rebuked in the church, after he returned. But, whether or not the ailing infant bore this burden, it is certain that its life was waning; and another bereavement fell immediately, as intimated in the following letter to Dr. Martin, upon the much-suffering house:—

"14, Newman Street, April 23, 1833.

"My dear Father,—The Lord, in His severity and His goodness, hath been pleased to chastise us for our sin and the sins of the flock by removing from us our darling Ebenezer, who seemed, like Edward, a child of God from his mother's womb; for, surely, during the months of his life, he never showed anything which might not become a child of God; and when, in faith, I addressed words of godliness to nourish the seed of faith which was in him, his patient heed was wonderful. We are much comforted of our heavenly Father, and of our dear flock, under all our trials. Peace be with you. Farewell!

"Your loving and dutiful son,

"Edwd. Irving."

I cannot undertake to account for the sublime unreason of this man, who, *in faith*, addresses *words of godliness* to the dying infant. Perhaps it may want small apology to those who, like myself, have seen that solemnity of death shadowing over a baby-face, of which this "patient heed" gives but too pathetic and affecting a picture. But he had long believed in the possibility of infant faith,—a point to which Coleridge refers, in the *Aids to Reflection*, as one which he will

not reply to "honoured Irving" upon, without careful consideration of the whole question. This article of faith, which may look fantastic enough to cool spectators, the father of those dead children has bequeathed to his Church, which, I believe, gives children a share in some of its most solemn services. Limits of human possibility were never in Irving's heart; he could not understand the existence of any soul debarred from communication with that Lord of life in whom he had his being; it was easier far to believe that the little intelligence which yet had not dawned into human expression, was, in an intercourse even more close than his own, hidden with Christ in God.

It is strange to turn from this passion and agony of human life, so heavily overcast by the sorrows sent of God, and the vexations imposed by man, to glance at what the outer world was saying, and what miraculous uncomprehension existed in the minds of many who came to gaze at the wonders in Newman Street. I do not know who the American, Dr. Addison Alexander, may have been, but I am told he was a man of some note in his own country. He was in Irving's church on the 10th May, 1833, and sent an account of what he saw there to the New York papers. With American detail, he described the man, the church, and the services—which he thought "extremely well contrived for scenic effect;" then added his impression of the demeanour of the preacher. "Dr. Cox and I," said the self-important Transatlantic spectator, "flatter ourselves that he observed and preached at us. I saw him peeping through his fingers several times, and I suppose he was not gratified to see us gazing steadfastly

at him all the time, for he took occasion to tell the people that it would profit them nothing without the circumcision of the ear.". This was the tone assumed, not by travelling Americans alone, but by all the general public, which imagined itself too enlightened to be deceived by any spiritual manifestations. It was a juggle which was supposed to be going on before those keen observers; and the heroic sufferer, who stood upon that platform before them, with the heart breaking in his generous and tender breast, was the chief trickster of the company, and was supposed to cast jealous eyes upon any curious stranger who might "gaze" too "steadfastly" and, perhaps, find out the secret of the imposture. In sight of such amazing misconception, miracles themselves lose their wonder; nothing is so wonderful as the blindness of those human eyes, which, "gazing steadfastly," do but demonstrate their own total incapacity to see.

During this summer considerable accessions were made to the separated community. An Independent congregation in the city, presided over by Mr. Miller, having gone through the same process which had taken place in Regent Square, attached itself to the new Church, its minister being also re-ordained angel over it — and the ecstatic voices began to be heard in the Church of England, from which they also ended by detaching at least one clergyman in London. The most singular proof, however, of the advance and development of the community, is to be found in the winding up of the *Morning Watch*, and the very remarkable reasons assigned for the ending of that strange periodical, the history of which breaks in like

an episode of pure romance into the duller records of ordinary literature. Commenced, at first, to afford a medium by which the consultations and conclusions of the Albury School of Prophets might be brought before the public, it had faithfully followed all the gradual expansions of the new Spiritualism. Vague but grand expectations had been in the heart of its originators. They believed the Lord to be at hand — the world's history to be all but concluded. The night was over, the day breaking, when Henry Drummond and his brother seers set their Morning Watch upon the battlements, that the sentinels might communicate to each other how the shadows dispersed, and the gleams of coming sunshine trembled from the east. Now a strange fruition was coming to those hopes. Not the Lord, indeed — for the gates of heaven still closed serenely in azure calm upon the far celestial glory—but a Church, with all its orders of ministers called by direct inspiration, a spiritual tabernacle, constituted by God himself, had been revealed to their faith; and all that close band of true believers stood breathless with expectation, each man listening whether, perhaps, his name might not be the next upon the prophetic roll. One by one the sentinels thus summoned dropped into other offices; and at last it became necessary for their leader to make the following announcement — such an intimation as, I presume, no editor of a periodical ever made before since literature was: —

"The followers of Christ and the followers of Antichrist are now gathering; each is now requiring, not merely the nominal but the personal services of their respective adherents; Christ is gathering His children into the true

Church, to do Him service there, and, in so doing, to be prepared for His coming; Satan is gathering his hosts under the standard of Liberalism to become the pioneers of that 'wicked one, that man of sin, the son of perdition,' the personal Antichrist.

"In the progress of this work, of gathering and preparing his followers, Christ, for some months past, hath been calling for the personal services of nearly all the regular correspondents of this journal, one after another; and He hath at length called the editor to take the place of an elder in His Church, and hath claimed all his time and services for the special duties of feeding and overseeing a sixth part of the flock of Christ in London. To this higher calling the editor now resolves to devote himself wholly, and at the same time brings the *Morning Watch* to a close, as he will not transfer to any other person such a solemn responsibility."

This singular periodical, a phenomenon in literature, came to a conclusion in June 1833. The March number contained several papers of Irving's, and in particular a most striking reply to Baxter's narrative — as eloquent an address as one man ever made to another, for it is almost entirely a personal appeal. When the *Morning Watch* ceased to afford him a means of communicating his thoughts to the public, Irving wrote no more. The only productions of his pen thereafter, except the sermons which he still continued to dictate wherever he found an amanuensis, were now and then a pastoral letter. His intercourse with the world, so far as literature was concerned, had now terminated. In every way, that intercourse grew less and less. He no longer went abroad to preach those open-air sermons, to which, in the previous year, thousands listened. Events drew closer the circle of fate; more and more he became isolated

in that little world guided by the ecstatic utterances, where daily development was taking place. Darkly it appears, through the formal records of the official *Chronicle*, that revolutions were being accomplished there, in which his devoted soul acquiesced painfully and with difficulty. He had to be instructed even in that new office of Angel, which at first, I read in the *Chronicle*, he did not understand to be "anything more than a Presbyterian minister." He had to reconcile himself to the newly-bestowed spiritual functions — much more wide than those which belonged to the same offices in the Church of Scotland — of the elders and deacons, which, as the same authority informs us, he "had not the least conception of," and, at first, entertained "the utmost repugnance to." He had to learn, besides, that, "after the apostolic office had been brought out," it was no longer his part to draw conclusions from the prophecies, or to follow their guidance upon his own authority, "and so contrary," we are informed, "was it to his views and practice" to await the Apostle's decision upon these matters, "that he still continued to judge and act upon words spoken in his flock, whereby great trouble and perplexity were occasioned both to himself and his people." It is added, however, that "he at length perceived his error" in all these particulars; yet, through the haze which envelopes the early growth of so exclusive a body, and through all the personal affection which surrounds Irving himself, it is plain to see, by glimpses, that this great, real, natural soul was again sadly in the way of those rapidly-growing new conventionalities to which only the conviction that they were ordained

by God, could make him bow his head; and was once more an embarrassing presence to the lesser men around, who knew not how to adapt their vestments to the limbs of a giant. From that dim world no more letters come forth to tell us how it is with him in his own sincere and unconcealable spirit; but when, now and then, for a moment, some other hand puts back the curtain, the picture is sad and full of trouble. His reason and his heart struggle against those bonds; but still he submits — always submits, bowing his lofty sorrowful head, on which anguish and conflict have scattered premature snows, under the yoke. Throughout the *Chronicle* and other publications put forth by the community, this great figure looms, always with formal acknowledgments made of its greatness, often with natural outbursts of affection celebrating its nobility, but, nevertheless, with a certain unexpressed disapprobation visibly mingling with all praise. Even the apostles and prophets are puzzled how to manage a soul so heroically simple, a heart so warm. They are tender of his repugnances and reluctances, but cannot understand how it is that their restraints irk him. And so it is that his days, which are numbered, glide on out of sight of the world. Outside, people imagine him the leader, who has brought and keeps this congregation together, and by right of whose permission prophets speak and elders teach; but in reality, when one looks within, the scene is very different. The apostles and prophets have patience with him when the light breaks slowly, painfully, upon his troubled soul; and, mastering all the prejudices of his life, all the impulses of his will, this martyr, into

whose lingering agony nobody enters, still bends his head and obeys.

A single example of this, contained in a letter from his brother-in-law, the Rev. J. Brodie, of Monimail, I may instance. The Communion was being celebrated in the Newman Street Church one Sunday in June, and Mr. Brodie, then in London on a visit, was present:—

"After praise and prayer, he (Irving) proceeded to dispense the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and pointed out the character of those who were invited to approach, and of those who were unworthy. While he was doing this, one of the apostles exclaimed: 'And if there be any one who does not acknowledge that the Spirit of God is amongst us, if there be any one that doubts the work of the Lord, let him abstain; let the unbeliever depart.' . . . . Next forenoon, Mr. Irving came to call for me. I very readily expressed my belief that not a few of those who belonged to his congregation were true believers in the Saviour; when he asked me, 'Why, then, did you not come and join with us at our Communion?' I replied, 'Even if I had desired to do so, how could I, after having heard it so plainly stated that all who doubted as to the nature of those manifestations were commanded to abstain?' He paused a moment, and then said, 'Ah, yes, the Spirit hath so enjoined us.' I saw that it was not without a struggle that he gave up the liberal and truly catholic feeling by which he had formerly been led to regard all true believers as brethren."

How many of such groans burst out of Irving's labouring heart is known only to the Divine Confidant of all his sorrows. The grieved and anxious brother who records this incident plied him inevitably once more with argument and appeal, representing that "these manifestations were the effects of excited imagination." In the midst of the harder sacrifices by which he had now to prove his devotion, the sufferer's

constancy and patience had again and yet again to go through this trial. He was still remonstrated with about that belief which was bringing upon him internal struggles more severe than any man knew of; and still he held to that only ground on which he could sustain himself, in forlorn but sublime confidence — the conviction that he had asked sincerely, and that God had answered. But God's ways were dark to His all-trusting servant — "His footsteps are not known."

Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, a profound expectation still moved the community in Newman Street, and kept hope and strength in the breast of Irving. The details of the living tabernacle were not all that he looked for from heaven. The baptism by fire was yet to come, and apostolic gifts, more marked and distinctive than the supernatural impulses which moved Mr. Cardale to confer ordination, were promised to the faith of the Church. This state of expectation is very apparent in the following letter addressed to a pious household in South America, one of the members of which, when in England, had been a partaker in the gift of prophecy: —

"London, 14, Newman Street, July 29, 1833.

"My dear Friends and Brethren,— . . . In respect of the matters concerning which you ask my counsel, I think that you, my dear Mrs. K——, ought both to desire and earnestly pray to be made the vessel of the Holy Ghost, seeing that once He hath honoured you in so wonderful a manner. But I believe that this will not be until those of the brethren who are set with you to seek the Lord do separate themselves to prayer and supplication, and waiting upon the Lord to join them into a Church, and endow them with His gifts and ministries from heaven. . . . . But do nothing without

His voice; administer no ordinance, take upon you no rule; only wait upon Him, and, until He appear for you, use the ordinances as they are found among you in the Protestant Church, from which I would not have you to separate or secede, but be along with them in the bondage and barrenness, in everything but in sin, crying for them and for all the people bitterly unto the Lord, who will separate you, when and how He knoweth best.

"In respect of an Evangelist being sent to you from my Church, I know they shall be sent out unto all the world from this land, and especially from this Church, if we abide faithful and patient in the Lord; but not until we receive power from on high, the outpouring of the latter rain, the sealing of the servants of God upon their foreheads, which even now God longeth to give; for which we wait and pray daily, yea, many times a day. Therefore be patient with us, and labour together with us in the Lord for the accomplishing of this very thing. He is preparing builders here; He is gathering stones everywhere. Pray that the labourers may be sent forth unto the harvest, for the fields are already ripe unto the harvest. We are heavy and fruitless in the Lord's hand, yet doth He glorify His abundant grace and goodness in the midst of us, for He hath by no means forsaken us, but doth daily both rebuke and comfort us. Truly my heart weepeth while I write over the let and hindrance we have presented to His work, whereby it hath come to be evil-spoken of over all the world. . . . . Oh, my brother, restrain thy imagination from the handling of things divine, but in faith and prayer be thou built up and established in all truth. . . . . My love to all the brethren who love the Lord Jesus!

"Your loving friend and servant, for the Lord's sake,

"EDWD. IRVING."

The remainder of the year was spent in this expectant yet sad suspense, waiting for "power from on high," and, when it did not come, groaning in heart over that want of faith which presented "a let and

hindrance to God's work," within the isolated circle of the Church in Newman Street. Of that silent conflict which Irving had now to wage with himself, last and perhaps sorest of his trials, there remains no record except the scanty intimations in the *Chronicle* of the reluctance with which he received various particulars of the new order of things. But "light broke in upon his mind," always at last — he "confessed his error;" — and so struggled onward on his sorrowful path, more and more wistfully conscious that God's footsteps are not known.

CHAPTER VII.

1834—THE END.

THE last year of Irving's life opened dimly in the same secluded, separated world, within which Providence had abstracted him after his re-ordination. He had not failed in any of the generous and liberal sympathies of his nature; his heart was still open to his old friends, and responded warmly to all appeals of affection; but the life of a man who prayed and waited daily, "yea, many times a day," for the descent of that "power from on high" which was to vindicate his faith and confirm his heart, was naturally a separated life, incapable of common communion with the unbelieving world. And he had paused in those "unexampled labours," which, up to the settlement of his Church in Newman Street, kept the healthful daylight and open air about him. At the end of the year 1832 he and his evangelists had ceased their missionary labours; henceforward nothing but the platform in Newman Street, and the care of a flock to which he was no longer the exclusive ministrant, occupied the intelligence which had hitherto rejoiced in almost unlimited labour. Whether there was any new compensation of work in the new office of the Angel I cannot tell; but nothing of the kind is apparent. He

was not ill, as far as appears, during the early part of this silent and sad winter; but he was deprived of the toil which had hitherto kept his mind in balance, and of that communication with the world which was breath to his brotherly and liberal soul. No man in the world could be less fitted for the life of a recluse than he; yet such a life he seems to have now led, his span of labour daily circumscribed as the different "orders of ministries" in the new Church developed, and no missionary exertion, or new work of any kind, coming in to make up to the mighty activity, always heretofore so hungry of work, for this sudden pause in the current of his life.

In January, however, he was sent on a mission to Edinburgh, where a Church had been established under the ministry of Mr. Tait, formerly of the College Church. This little community had been troubled by the "entrance of an evil spirit, from which, in all its deadening effects, his experience in dealing with spiritual persons would, it was hoped, be efficacious, by the blessing of God, in delivering them." There is no information, so far as I can discover, how Irving discharged this difficult mission; but I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Macdougall, of Edinburgh, for a momentary note of his aspect there. "His characteristic fire," says that gentleman, who had been one of his hearers in earlier and brighter days, "had then, in a great measure, given place to a strangely plaintive pathos, which was as exquisitely touching and tender as his exhibitions of intellectual power had been majestic." He seems to have remained but a very short time, and to have occupied himself exclusively with his

mission. Though the Edinburgh public, in much greater numbers than could gain admittance, crowded to the place of meeting where Mr. Tait and his congregation had found shelter, the great preacher no longer called them forth at dawn to dispense his liberal riches, nor rushed into the chivalrous, disinterested labour of his former missions to Edinburgh. Wonderful change had come upon that ever-free messenger of truth. He came now, not on his own generous impulse, but with his instructions in his hand. Always a servant of God, seeking to know His supreme will and to do it, he was now a servant of the Church, bound to minute obedience. Some time after, Mrs. Irving wrote to her mother, that "Edward was truly grieved that it was not in his power to go to see you, but his time is truly not his own, neither is he his own master." From this mission he returned very ill, with threatenings of disease in his chest; and, though he rallied and partially recovered, it soon became apparent that his wearied frame and broken heart were unable to strive longer with the griefs and disappointments which encompassed him, and that the chill of this wintry journey had brought about a beginning of the end.

A month after Irving's visit to Edinburgh the apostles, of whom there were now two, Mr. Cardale and Mr. Drummond, proceeded there to ordain the angel over that Church, and from Edinburgh visiting several other towns in Scotland, were some time absent from the central Church. During that interval, a command was given "in the power," in Newman Street, to which Irving gave immediate obedience. It concerned, I think, the appointment of a certain number

of evangelists. After this step had been taken, the absent apostles heard of it, and wrote, declaring the new arrangement to be a delusion, and rebuking both prophet and angel. The rebuked prophet withdrew for a time in anger; the angel bowed his loftier head, read the letter to the Church, and confessed his error. Thus, amid confusions, disappointments—long lingering of the promised power from on high—sad substitution of morsels of ceremonial and church arrangement for the greater gifts for which his soul thirsted—the last spring that he was ever to see on earth dawned upon Irving. As it advanced, his friends began to write to each other again with growing anxiety and dread; his sister-in-law, Elizabeth, describing with alarm "the lassitude he exhibits at all times," and bitterly complaining that he had neither time nor possibility of resting, surrounded as he was by the close pressure of that exclusive community, "the members of his flock visiting him every forenoon from 11 to 1 o'clock," and the anxieties of all the Church upon his head. Kind people belonging to the Church itself interposed to carry him away, in his exhaustion, on the Monday mornings, to rest in houses which could be barricaded against the world—a thing which, in Edward Irving's house, in the mystic precincts of that Church in Newman Street, was simply impossible; and, when he had been thus abstracted by friendly importunity, describe him as stretched on a sofa, in the languor of his fatigued and failing strength, looking out upon the budding trees, but still in that leisure and lassitude turning his mind to the work for which his frame was no longer capable, dictating to some ready daughter or sister of the house. As he thus composed, it was his wont to

pause, whenever any expression or thought had come from him which his amanuensis could have any difficulty about, to explain and illustrate his meaning to her favoured ear,—neither weakness, nor sorrow, nor the hard usage of men, being able to warp him out of that tender courtesy which belonged to his nature.

In this calm of exhaustion the early part of the year passed slowly. He still preached as usual, and was at the command of all his people, but appeared nowhere out of their close ranks. In July, he wrote a letter, characteristically minute in all its details, to Dr. Martin, bidding him "give thanks with me unto the Lord for the preservation of your daughter and my dear wife from an attack of the cholera," and relating the means which had been effectual in her recovery. "All that night I was greatly afflicted," he writes; "I felt the hand of the Lord to cast me down to the greatest depths. It was on my heart on Friday night, and it was on hers also, to bring out the elders of the Church, which I did on Saturday morning, when, having confessed before them unto the Lord all my sin, and all her sin, and all the sin of my house, without any reserve, according to the commandment of the Lord (James v. 16), I brought them up to her room, when, having ministered to her a word to strengthen her faith, they prayed to the Lord, one after the other, and then strengthened her with a word of assurance, and blessed her in the name of the Lord. They had not been gone above five minutes when she asked me for something to eat. . . . While I give the glory to God, I look upon Dr. Darling as having been a blessed instrument in His hand, and am able to see the hand of

the Lord in the means, as clearly as in my own case, where there was neither means, nor medicine, nor the appointed ordinance of the Church."

In this letter, Irving affectionately anticipates a visit from his wife's father and mother, and writes as if time had softened the warmth of their opposition and restored much of the old frankness of their intercourse. This is the only glimpse which I can find of him till he reappears finally in September, in all his old, individual distinctness, softened by his weak bodily condition, with a grave gentleness and dignity and the peace of exhaustion breathing in everything he does and says. He had been by "the power" commissioned, as a prophet to Scotland, to do a great work in his native land some time before. Either the time had now arrived for that great work, and he was authoritatively commanded to go forth and do it, which is the explanation given by his alarmed and disapproving relatives of his journey; or else the Church at Newman Street, anxious for the restoration of his health, gladly pronounced an authoritative sanction to his own wish to wander slowly over the country, wending his way by degrees to Scotland, with the hope of gaining strength, as well as doing the Lord's work, by the way. He had been warned by his doctor that the only safe thing for him, in the condition of health he was in, was to spend the winter in a milder climate; and when, notwithstanding this advice, his anxious friends saw him turn his face, in the waning autumnal days, towards the wintry north instead, it is not wonderful that they should add the blame of this, to all the other wrongs against his honour and happiness of which they held

the prophets of Newman Street guilty. However that may be, it is apparent that the spiritual authorities of his own Church, perhaps aware that no inducement would lead him to seek health, for its own sole sake, in any kind of relaxation, gave their full countenance to the journey, upon which he now set out in confidence and hope.

It is singular, however, to note how, as soon as he emerges from his seclusion in Newman Street, he regains his natural rank in a world which always had recognised the simple grandeur of his character. Away from that Church, where he rules, indeed, but must not judge, nor act upon even the utterances from heaven, except on another man's authority—where he is censured sometimes and rebuked, and where his presence is already an unacknowledged embarrassment, preventing or at least hindering the development of all its new institutions—the free air of heaven once more expands his forlorn bosom. In the rural places where he goes there is no man "worthy" who does not throw open his doors to that honoured guest, whose greatness, all subdued and chastened by his weakness, returns to him as he travels. Once more his fame encircles him as he rides alone through the unknown country. It is Edward Irving, of tender catholic heart, a brother to all Christians, whose thoughts, as he has poured them forth for ten eventful years, have quickened other thoughts over all the nation, and brought him many a disciple and many a friend in the unknown depths of England, and not merely the Angel of the new Church, who goes softly in his languor and feebleness to the banks of the Severn and the Wye. I cannot but think that

the leaders of the community must have felt—to judge by the sentiment which is apparent in their publications—a certain relief, perhaps unconscious to themselves, when he left them: he whom it was impossible not to be tender of, but whose enlightenment was slower and more difficult than they could have desired; and for himself I cannot doubt that the relief was even greater. He had escaped away to the society of his Lord—to the silent rural ways, where no excitement disturbed the musings of his soul; to the company of good men, who were not disposed to contend with him, whom, unconsciously, he had helped and enlightened in the liberal and princely years that were past. So he left London and the battle-field, never more to enter those painful lists, nor be lost amidst the smoke of that conflict—and went forth, in simple dignity, to a work less hard than he dreamed of, unwitting to himself, leaving his passion and anguish behind him, and turning his fated steps towards the hills with no harder thing on hand than to die.

He left London without any apparent presentiment that this parting was the last, and gave his final benediction to the children whom in this world he was to see no more. They were three whom he thus left fatherless: one only, the Maggie of his letters, old enough to understand or remember her father; the youngest an infant a few months old. The first point in his journey was Birmingham, from whence he begins his letters to his anxious wife:—

"Edgbaston, Birmingham, 3rd September, 1834.

"My dear Wife,—I have just time to write a line, to say that I have got here in good health and spirits, without feel-

ing any weariness at all, yet conscious of bearing about the hand of the Lord upon me, at which I must neither murmur nor rebel. . . . . Oh, that I might leave a blessing in this hospitable and peaceful house!

"Your faithful husband,

"EDWD. IRVING."

The next letter is from Blymhill, by Shiffnel, where he describes himself to have arrived, "bearing the hand of the Lord upon me, yet careful enough and contented enough," and where his friends find him a horse on which to pursue his way. On the 6th of September, still lingering at this place, "visiting the brethren," which he speaks of as "strengthening and fitting me for the journey," he tells his Isabella that "the Lord deals very tenderly with me, and I think I grow in health and strength. What I could not get in London or Birmingham," he adds, with quaint homeliness, "I found lying for me here—the gift of Mr. Cowper, of Bridgenorth, a sort of *trotcosie* of silk oilcloth, which will take in both hat, and shoulders, and cheeks, and neck, and breast. I saw the hand of Providence in this." Here he is troubled by his own inadvertence in having dated a check, which he gave in payment for his horse, "London—little thinking that this was a trick to save a stamp. I am very sorry for this, but I did it in pure ignorance." Next day he is at Bridgenorth, in trouble about his little boy, who is ailing, and on whose behalf he directs his wife to appeal to the elders for such a visitation as had been, according to his belief, so effectual in her own case. "Ask them to come in after the evening service, when I shall separate myself to the Lord with them," says the absent

father, whose heart is with his children, and who, after many anxious counsels about the little four-year-old boy, sends a message to tell him that "the horse is brown, with black legs." Next day he resumes: "I did separate myself, according to my promise, and was much distressed by the heavy and incessant judgments of the Lord, and afterwards I had faith to plead the promise that the prayer of faith should heal the sick." "This Bridgenorth is one of the most beautifully-situated towns I ever saw," he continues, and proceeds to describe the route which he meant to adopt, to his wife; after recording the expenses to which his horse and saddle had put him, he adds: "but no matter—I feel that I am serving the Lord daily, and I think He daily giveth me more strength to serve Him." On the 10th of September he is again at Blymhill, where he lingers to receive the visits of some brethren in the neighbourhood, and to prove his horse, "which goes well." The friends who detain him in this quarter seem to be the clergymen of the place. "I am greatly pleased and comforted," he says, "by all that I [hear] about Henry Dalton's two flocks, and have no doubt that the pleasure of the Lord is prospering in his hands; nor am I less pleased here with Mr. Brydgeman, whose labours for the Lord are very abundant." From Blymhill he also writes to Mr. Hamilton, committing into his hands the management of his business affairs with his former publishers; a commission which he introduces by the following affecting preface:—

"My dear Brother Hamilton,—Although we have parted company in the way for a season, being well assured of the sincerity and honesty of your mind, and praying always that

you may be kept from the formality of the world in divine things, I do fondly hope that we shall meet together in the end, and go hand in hand, as we have done in the service of God. And this not for you only, but for your excellent wife, whose debtor I am many ways. On this account, I have always continued to take your counsel and help in all my worldly matters, as in former times, though God, in His goodness, hath given me so many deacons and under-deacons worthy of all confidence. But I cannot forget, and never will, the assiduous kindness with which you have, ever since I knew you, helped me with your sound judgment and discretion in all temporal things; and sure am I that I should be glad as ever to give you my help in spiritual things as heretofore. I could not, without these expressions of my hearty, faithful attachment to you, and of my grateful obligations for all your past kindness, introduce the business upon which I am now to seek your help."

All the literary business in which Irving was now concerned seems to have been the settlement of his accounts with his publishers. Some balances appear to have been owing him. But I have been told, I cannot say with what truth, that he derived little pecuniary advantage at any time, even from his most popular publications.

A few days later, he writes the following descriptive letter to his children:—

"Ironbridge, Shropshire, 16th September, 1834.

"My dear Children, Margaret and Martin,—This place from which I write you is named Ironbridge, because there is a great bridge of iron, which, with one arch, spans across the river Severn, and there is another, about two miles farther up the river, where there are the ruins of an ancient abbey, in which men and women that feared God used, in old times, to live and worship Him. The walls of the ruin are all grown over with ivy. Your father stopped his horse to look at them; and six miles farther back there was an old grey ruined wall in a field, which a smith by the road side told me was the

ruins of an ancient Roman city, named Uniconium, which once stood there. . . . . Your father has ridden from Shrewsbury this morning, where he parted with his dear friend, the Honourable and Reverend Henry Brydgeman, who is a very godly man, and has been wonderfully kind to your father. He has six sons and only one daughter, all little children, the eldest not so big as Margaret; and I am writing to Bridgenorth to another dear friend, the Rev. Henry Dalton, who has no children yet. You must pray for both these ministers, and thank God for putting it into their head to be so good to your father.

"Now, concerning the house and the oak-tree in which the King was hidden and saved. There have been eight Kings since his time and one Queen—Queen Anne, whose statue is before St. Paul's Church, in London. This King's name was Charles, and his father's name was Charles, and therefore they called him Charles the Second. The people rose up against his father, and warred against him till they took him, and then they cut off his head at Whitehall, in London; and his poor son they pursued, to take him and kill him also, and he was forced to flee away and hide himself, as King David did hide himself. The house is only three miles from Mr. Brydgeman's, so we mounted our horses and away we rode —Mr. Brydgeman in the middle—till we came to a gate which led us into a park, and soon we came to another gate, which opened and let us into the stable yard, and there we dismounted from our horses. . . . . The master of the house and his family were gone, and there were none but a nice, tidy, kind woman, who took us through the kitchen into an ancient parlour all done round the walls with carved oak, just as it was when the King hid himself in the house. And there was a picture of the King. Then we went upstairs into an ancient bedroom, whose floor was sore worn with age, and by the side of this bedroom was a door leading into a little, little room, and the floor of that room lifted up in the middle, and underneath was a narrow dark dungeon or hiding-place, in which the King of all this island was glad to hide himself, in order to escape from his persecutors; this narrow place opened below by narrow stairs into the garden, where is a door in the wall hidden behind ivy. Then we went up another stair to

the garret, and at the top of it there was another board in the floor, that lifted up, and went down by a small ladder into another hiding-place. But all these hiding-places were not enough to hide the King from his persecutors,—armed soldiers on horseback, who entered the house to search it. Then the King fled out by the door behind the ivy in the garden, and leapt over the garden wall into a field, and climbed up an oak-tree, and hid himself among its thick branches. Papa saw this tree. It is done round with a rail, to distinguish it from the rest and to keep it sacred. . . . . Then the soldiers, not finding him in the house, galloped about into the wood, and passed under the very tree; but God saved the King, and they found him not. . . . . There are many lessons to be learned from this, which your dear mother will teach you, for I am tired, and my horse is getting ready. So God bless you, and your little sister, and your dear mother, and all the house. Farewell!

"Your loving father,
"EDWD. IRVING."

After this, his correspondence is exclusively addressed to his wife, and continues, from point to point along his journey, an almost daily chronicle:—

"Shobdon (half way between Ludlow and Kington),
Thursday, 18th September, 1834.

"MY DEAREST WIFE,—In this beautiful village, embowered with trees and clothed with ivy and roses, in the little inn—where are assembled the last remains of a wake, which has holden since Sunday—from a little bar-room or parlour within the ample kitchen, where they are playing their drunken tricks with one another—I sit down to write you. I know not wherefore I went to Shrewsbury*, but wherefore I returned to Bridgenorth I discern was for seeing Mejanel, and opening to

* He had, however, in a former letter, described to his wife the impulse he felt to seek out a young surgeon, whom he believed to be in Shrewsbury, who was in danger of falling from the faith, but who, he found on going there, had left the place.

him the whole state of his soul, in the presence of Mr. Dalton, and with his confirmation; and I do hope it will lead to that repentance and cleansing of heart which may prepare him for the ordination of the Lord, which I trust will not be delayed, in the great mercy and goodness of our Lord. I charged him * at no rate to go to France without ordination, and I think I prevailed with him. . . . . .

"But, oh! how shall I describe the beauty and the blessedness of the land through which I have travelled these three days. Whether it be that the riding on horseback gives time for the objects to enter and produce these impressions, I know not, but it seems to me as if I had never seen the beauty and the fatness of the land till now. I am filled with the admiration of it. My way to Ludlow lay over the ridge which joins the two Clay (or Clee) mountains, and, as they rose before me, in their blue and naked majesty, out of the ripe vegetation and abundant wood of the country around, I was filled with delight. My road, both yesterday and to-day, though a turnpike road, is out of the great lines, and I was as solitary and sequestered as I could have wished; leaving me much opportunity of communion with God. . . . . I keep this letter open till I come to Kington. My dinner, ham and egg, a cold fowl, an apple-tart and cheese, a tumbler of cider, a glass of Sicilian Tokay, of which Mr. Brydgeman put two bottles in my saddle [bags]. . . . . I am safe in Mr. Whalley's, and have passed a good night. Tell your dear mother I had such a memento of Kirkcaldy Manse—ginger wine in a long-necked decanter. . . . . Love and blessing to the children, and to all the house.

"Your faithful and loving husband,

"Edwd. Irving."

"Ross, 23rd September.

"I have but ten minutes to the post, being just arrived at Ross. A Mr. Davies came to Kington, and invited me to Hereford, and gathered an inquiring people, whom I in-

* The person here referred to was a French preacher, who had been a very prominent figure in the excitement which attended the origin of the "gifts" in Scotland.—See *Memoir of Mr. Story of Roseneath.*

structed, under Mr. Davies' authority, as his chaplain. He has ridden thus far with me, and goes on to Monmouth, where I expect to be at tea. I am getting daily better. The Lord bless you all!"

"Chepstow, 26th September.

"I was greatly comforted by your letter last night, having been in great distress of soul for dear Martin; and I give thanks to the Lord, who hath preserved him. . . . . Say to Mr. T—— that I spent a most agreeable night and forenoon at his brother's, and that I feel my going to Monmouth was very much for his sake and his wife's, both of whom, I think, are not far from the kingdom of heaven. I also saw and conversed much with the Rev. Mr. Davies, of whom I thought very highly. . . . . Here, at Chepstow, the seed has indeed been sown by Mr. Sturgeon, and I am watering it with words of counsel and instruction, teaching them the way of worshipping God, and encouraging them to gather together and call upon His name. I think there is the foundation of a Church laid in this place. Now, my dear wife, I am surely better in my health, for my appetite is good, and my pulse is come to be under 100. The Lord's hand I feel to be with me, and I believe that I am doing Him service. Farewell! the Lord be your stay."

"Raglan (half way to Crickhowel),
"Saturday, 27th September.

"The inn here, at which I have just arrived to breakfast, is also the post-office, and I have about three quarters of an hour to write you. My visit to Chepstow, I feel, hath been very well bestowed. I had the people two nights to Mrs. Sturgeon's, and they came in great numbers, and I had great presence and power of the Lord in ministering to them the two chapters which we offered in the family worship, Luke xi. and Matthew xxv., and great, I am persuaded, will the fruits of Mr. Sturgeon's ministry here be. But the thing wherein the hand of the Lord is most seen is His bringing me into contact and conference with all the young clergymen round about. At Tintern, which is two thirds of the way from Monmouth to Chepstow, I rested my horse, while I went to see the famous ruins of the abbey. I had not been within

the abbey walls five minutes when there was a ring for admittance, and two young men of a scholar-like appearance came in. One immediately came forward and saluted me with information that his father, a barrister in Dublin, had once been entertained in our house, and the young man with him was also a clergyman;—with both of them I have had much close conversation, and with two at Chepstow. . . . My time is exhausted: I will, therefore, speak of myself. I think I may say I am indeed very much better, and hardly conscious of an invalid's feelings. . . . . I continue to use Dr. Darling's prescriptions, and find the good of them. Now, as concerneth speaking, I am fully persuaded, by experience, that it is the proper exercise of the lungs, and, being taken in measure, it is always good for me. But nothing has done me so much good as to hear of dear Martin's recovery. That was indeed healing both to body and soul."

"Crickhowel, 28th September.

"I arrived here safe and in good order, horse and man, last night; and, because they could not get a messenger over to Mr. Waddy, who lives about two miles off, I made my arrival known by a note to the Rev. T. Price, Mr. Tudor's friend, who came to the inn very speedily, and took me up to his house to spend the evening. I find him much instructed in the truth, but holding it rather by the light of the understanding than by the faith of the Spirit; still he is, as I judge, one by whom the Lord will greatly bless this principality, through the continual prayer of the Church. Oh! tell Mr. Tudor to keep Wales upon his heart, and Price and Scale. Scale is the young man at Merthyr Tydvil who breakfasted with us once. He is a precious man—one set of the Lord for a great blessing, I am convinced, though the time be not yet fully come. He rode over to-day, and poor Waddy had ridden early all the way to Abergavenny, six miles back on the road, thinking to find me there, and ride in with me; but I had resolved that the Christian Sabbath should not fall beneath the Jewish in being a day of entire rest for man and horse. Mr. Price is a great Welsh scholar, a literary and patriotic man, full of taste and knowledge; young—that is, within my age—a bachelor, whose wife, I fear, is more his books than the Church as yet. Yet I love

him much, and owe him much love. I breakfasted with him this morning, and afterwards went to the church in this place, where an aged man, Mr. Vaughan, who fears God much, is the minister; for Mr. Price went to serve a church in Welsh some three miles off. . . . . We did not meet till the interval when we all went over to Mr. Price's other cure, a church over the water, close by. He preached on the coming of the Lord, a short but true sermon. Then afterwards he asked me, at the request of the family, to go with him to a sick lady, who had been prayed for, and gave the whole household ministry into my own hand. The rest of the evening I have spent with the three brethren, Price, Scale, and Waddy, and having supped upon a piece of bread and a tumbler of precious beer, homebrewed, I sit down to write to you before I offer up my worship and go to rest. Now, my dear, I think it rather of the Lord that we should remain apart till I be brought home in the good time of the Lord. . . . . It is a trial to me to be separated from you in many ways, and chiefly in this, that I may testify to you the new love with which God hath filled my bosom towards you; that I may bear you ever upon my arm, as I do now bear you upon my heart."

"Builth (border of Radnor and Brecon),
29th September.

"I am again returned to the banks of the Wye, and shall ascend it to near its summit in 'huge Plinlimmon.' Of all rivers that I have seen, the grace of its majesty surpasseth. I first came in sight of its scenery as we rode to Hereford, a few miles from Kington; and as far as the eye could stretch up to the mountains from which it issued, it seemed a very wilderness of beauty and fruitfulness. My eye was never satisfied with beholding it. But how impossible it is to give you an idea of the vast bosom of Herefordshire as I saw it from the high lands we cross on the way to Ross! . . . My soul was altogether satisfied in beholding the works of my God. . . . . But the valley of the Usk, where Crickhowel is, hath a beauty of its own, so soft, with such a feathery wood scattered over it, gracing with modesty, but not hiding, the well-cultivated sides of the mountains, whose tops are resigned to

nature's wildness. . . . . Now, my dearest, of myself: I think I grow daily better by daily care and the blessing of God upon it. I ride thirty miles without any fatigue, walking down the hills to relieve my horse. . . . . I have you and the children in continual remembrance before God, and them also that are departed, expressing my continual contentedness that they are with Him. Now, farewell! say to Martin that I am going to write him a letter about another king, St. Ethelred."

This promised letter to his little son was never written; but there breaks in here a birthday epistle to the little Maggie of his heart:—

"Aberystwyth, Oct. 2nd, 1834.

"My dear Daughter Margaret,—This is your birthday, and I must write you a letter to express a father's joy and thanksgiving over so dear a child. Your mother writes me from Brighton, that Miss Rooke has written to her such an account of your diligence and obedience. It made me so glad that you were beginning to show that you are not only my child, but the child of God, regenerate in Baptism. Bring thou forth, my sweet child, the fruits of godliness daily, more and more abundantly. I am now got to Aberystwyth, and dwell upon the shore of the sea, in the same house with Mr. Carré, who goes out and preaches every evening at five o'clock, and I go out and stand beside him. You will delight to hear that I am much better, through the goodness of God; and that I hope to be quite well before I reach Scotland. . . . . I beseech you, my beloved child, to have your soul always ready for the hand of the Lord, who is your true Father. I am but His poor representative. Now, blessings be upon thee, and dear Martin, and dear Isabella! I pray God to keep you many years in health, and afterwards to receive thee to His glory. . . . . Remember me with affection to all the house; and be assured that I am

"Your loving father,

"Edwd. Irving."

He then resumes the chronicle of his journey:—

"Aberystwyth, October 3rd.

"I wrote to Maggie yesterday, which, with a letter to Mr. Whally, I found occupation enough. . . . . The letter I wrote you from Builth was too late for the post. That day was the sweetest of all my journey, for it was among the well-sunned, well-aired mountains, where every breeze seemed to breathe health upon me. My road during the morning was up rough, and, in many places, wooded glens; but after passing Rhyadhon, where I breakfasted, I cleared the region of cultivation, taking the hill-road to what they call the Devil's Bridge, or Havod Arms, an inn within twelve miles of Aberystwyth. Among the sheep and the sheepfolds I found that air which I wanted; hunger came hours before its time, and I seemed to feel the strength of my youth. I do not find it so by the shore of the sea, though this be assuredly a sweet and healthy place, at the opening of a short valley, which in five or six miles carries you into the bleak air of the mountains. It will give you some idea of my returning strength when I tell you that next morning I arose at seven, and, with the Boots of the inn for my guide, descended to the bottom of that fearful ravine of roaring cataracts, 320 feet below the level of the road, and ascended again, and surveyed them one by one with great delight. . . . . This Aberystwyth is against letter writing. I was interrupted yesterday; and so I will interrupt my description, and leave it for a letter to dear Maggie. The house of Mrs. Brown was open to me, and a bed prepared for me. Mr. Carré also abides under her roof since her son came home. . . . . Mr. Brown has the felicity of seeing his family joined together in one mind. . . . . No doubt they have all to be tried, and their faith is yet but in its infancy; but it is most heart-cheering to see the house of one mind. Since my coming, Mr. Brown has opened his house at morning and evening worship to 'those who are godly disposed,' where I have had an opportunity of instructing and counselling many of the Lord's people. Dear Carré preaches in the open air at the head of the Marine Parade, where the main street of the ancient town descends into the noble crescent which hath been builded of late years for the accommodation of the company who chiefly resort from the West of England hither

for the sea-bathing and sea-air; and he was wont to open the Scriptures further, within doors, at seven, to those who came to Mr. Brown's; but now that he has seen the better way of combining domestic worship with that household ministration, I think he will adopt it, and continue what I have begun. Mr. Brown departs for his cure at Maddington on Wednesday next week.

"Harlech, Merionethshire, 7th October.

"I write you from the inn which overlooks one of the three strong castles with which Edward III. did bridle all this region of North Wales. It stands frowning, like the memory of its master, over land and over sea. Out of the window, where I have dined, I have seen the most beautiful sunset, full of crimson glory, with here and there a streak of the brightest green. It was at the time that I was with you all in spirit in Newman Street, and I took it as a figure of the latter-day glory. Yesterday I set out from Aberystwyth, from that dear family, who were all up to see me off at seven o'clock; and, being mindful of Dr. Darling's words, rode enveloped in India rubber to Machynlleth (which being pronounced is Machuntleth). This was a stage of eighteen miles before breakfast; nowise particularly interesting ... But from Machynlleth to Dolgelley, is by the foot of Cader-Idris, a mountain surpassed by none, if equalled by any, for its rugged majesty and beauty. I had much communion with God in the first part of this stage, for the Church, for Mr. Cardale, but above all, for you and for all who have received from us life. When I descended upon the base of Cader-Idris, on my left hand there shot out a vista towards the sea, which terminated in a clear and bright sky. I cannot describe the pleasure which I had in looking away from the terrible grandeur of Cader-Idris down that sweet glade opening into the beautiful skies. But it was the instant duty of myself and horse to cross up a shoulder of the mountain and get on our way. .... About six I arrived at my inn, and was much refreshed by my dinner and bed. This morning I sent my horse early down to Barmouth, proposing myself to come by a boat, which I was told sailed at half-past nine and got

down in forty minutes—all to see the scenery, which is very, very beautiful upon the estuary or loch; but when I came to the boathouse, about two miles walking, I found the boat would not be there for more than an hour, would tarry some time, and then had a rough sea and rough head-wind to sail with. My purpose was to be here before the meeting of the church, and this is ten miles from Barmouth. There was nothing for it but to ferry over the water, and walk the remaining eight miles, along with three skinners going thither on their business, men in whom was the fear of God. I gave them my greatcoat to carry, and walked by the rough side of the loch with a strong wind ahead, and was no worse, but I thought rather the better for it. Then I rode hither, and being all alone, have been more with you than with myself. Truly the Lord hath laid Mr. Cardale upon my heart, and the whole Church, and all those to be presented, and I have prayed for them every one, according to my discernment. Show this sentence to Mr. Cardale, or transcribe it, for I am not able to write to-night, ... and this to Mr. Woodhouse—(two sentences in Latin are here inserted in the manuscript). It is not because I may or can not trust you, most trustworthy wife, that I write these answers in Latin, but because I would not take you out of your place. . . . . Now the peace and blessing of the Lord be with you and all the house."

"Bangor, 9th October.

"My dearest Wife,—For I have heart and strength to write only to you; indeed it is in my heart to write many letters; but a due sense of my duty of resting when the labours of the day are over, holds my hand, and I have committed my flock into the Shepherd's hand. I rode from Harlech, before breakfast, along the sea shore until we found an inlet to follow up, at the head of which sits Taw-y-bwlch, in such stillness and beauty, among the most sublime and beautiful mountain scenery. Oh! it is a place of peace and repose! Thence I crossed rugged and barren mountains, with occasional views of the ocean, until the road swept up a mountain pass of great sublimity, and opened at the head of

it upon Beddgelert, a place of the like character with Taw-y-bwlch, but not so sequestered. (This is for Maggie, but it is profitable to us all). Beddgelert means, 'the grave of Gelert.' Gelert was a hound of matchless excellences. . . . The hound fell at his master's feet and breathed out his life in piteous moanings. He was hardly dead when the babe awoke from some place of greater security whither the dog had carried it, and when they looked beneath the bed they found a mighty and ferocious wolf, whose mangled body showed what a desperate conflict poor Gelert had waged that day for his master's infant. Ah, me! what faithfulness God hath put into the hearts of his creatures! what pure love must be in His own! The name Bedd-Gelert commemorates that event. Here I had a harper to play to me the choicest of the old Welsh airs, *Of a noble race was Shenkin*, *The March of the men of Harlech*, &c. The old blind man was very thankful for a sixpence, and I taught him how to use his harp as David had done, in the praise of his God. From thence I set myself to begird the roots of Snowdon, for he covered his head from the sight of man. I had seen his majestic head lifted above the mountains from Aberystwyth, and it is the only sight I have had of him. He is the monarch of many. The mountains stand around him as they shall stand around Zion. When I was seeking to disentangle the perfect form of one of them from the mist, which I thought must surely be he, a countryman told me my mistake. That beautiful sunset which I saw at Harlech yielded only wind; and as I rode up these defiles the wind was terrible. It made the silken shroud over my shoulders rattle in my horse's ears until he could hardly abide it; and, in truth, I had to take it off, for the bellowing of the wind itself was enough for the nerves of man or horse. I never endured such a battery of wind. I arrived at my inn a little after the setting of the sun—Dolbaddon, an inn like a palace. Thence I rode this morning to Carnarvon, secluded on the outgoing of the Menai Straits; and I turned off my road to look at the bridge —that wonder of man's hand. And now here I am in the very house of the Shunamite woman, for though it is an inn like a castle, the Penrhyn Arms, mine hostess is a very

mother. Mr. Pope is resident here, having married a wife of the daughters of the land. To him I wrote a letter of brotherly love; but it hath been in vain, I fear. The Lord's will be done. Now I doubt that this is too late for the post; but come when it will, let it come with the blessing of God upon you and upon all the house. I begin to feel a strong desire that you were with me. I do not know, but it may be well to commit that thing to the Lord against the time I reach Glasgow."

"Flint, Saturday Night, 11th October.

"I am still able to praise the Lord for His merciful and gracious dealings; though these two last days, or rather the two before this, have been days of trial to me. When viewing the Menai bridge I got wet by a sudden gust driven through the straits by the wind, and though I put on my cloak, and changed all at that motherly inn, I had a very fevered night, and was in a very fevered state next day. Still I felt my horse's back and the beautiful day to be my medicine, and rode to Conway very slowly, having a good deal of headache. There I found myself little better, and the inn being kept by a surgeon, I was greatly tempted to take his advice. My spirits sank for one half hour, and I had formed the serious resolution of turning into the sick room. But I remembered the words of the Lord upon my journey, and ordered my horse, and having now not more than two hours of good daylight I rode with great speed, and, as it were, violently. This I soon discovered to be my remedy; for while the cool air fanned the heat of my lungs and carried it off, the violent riding brought out a gentle perspiration, until I came to the hotel at Abergele, where I gave myself with all my heart to cry to the Lord. I drank copiously of tea, and had gruel, and bathed my feet, which God so blessed, that when I awoke this morning, the feeling of all within my breast was such that I exclaimed, 'Can it be that I am entirely healed!' But I soon found that the Lord's hand is still upon me. Yet am I sure that I received a very great deliverance that night. To-day my headache has returned, with sickness. . . . .

"This is for Maggie. At the mouth of the Conway was a weir for catching fish, which belonged in very ancient times to the brother of the lord of these parts about Great Ormes-head. He had a son named Elfin, who had wasted all his substance, and wearied out his father's goodness, and was brought to great straits. He begged, as a last boon from his father, the weir for one night, thinking to catch many fish. But in the morning there was not one, only there was a basket, and a baby in it. He took the infant boy, and was careful of his upbringing. This boy grew to be Taliesin, the prince of all the British bards, who afterwards lived to reconcile his patron with his father. . . . God keep you all, my dear children, and make you more and more abound to His glory."

"Flint, 12th October.

"The service is in Welsh this forenoon, and so I am at my inn, where indeed they have most tenderly treated me. It is English in the evening, and, God willing, I will go up to His house. Now, my dear, I write you again this day, though it will be the companion of my last night's letter, to express my decided judgment that you should not any longer be separated from me. My God is sufficient for me, I know; and He hath been my sufficiency during these three days and nights of the sharpest fiery trial, both of flesh and heart, which I have ever proved. I believe that upon my saddle, and by the strength of faith, I have fought against the most severe bilious fever. How in the night seasons the Psalms have been my consolations against the faintings of flesh and heart! And I believe God hath guided me to do things which were the very means of dispelling those fears and troubles. Last night I slept well from half-past nine till two, then I counted the hours as they chimed out from the clock on the staircase; and so I lay, parched with thirst and inward heat, and yet chilly, my head full of pain, my heart of fainting, but my faith steadfast. I felt that there was much of nervousness in it, and that by some strong act I must dissolve it. The footpan, with the water that had been hot, but now was wintry cold (for last night was very chill), stood by

the bedside, and a little jug which had contained boiling water to keep up the temperature, was standing by its side. It was the breaking of the morning. I threw off flannels and stockings, and stood with my feet in the cold water, and poured with the jug the cold water from my shoulders downward. . . . . and all at once was a changed man, and had some winks of sleep.

"And again, when I had desired the maid to bring my breakfast to me in bed, purposing to keep my bed all day, or some considerable part of it, it occurred to me that this also was yielding to the disease, and I instantly arose, dressed myself, ate my breakfast—a mutton chop, stale bread, and tea, and went out and walked for half an hour by the seashore, breathing such health and sweetness from the air of heaven.

"(Monday night, Liverpool, Mr. Tarbet's).—The Lord hath made vain the remedies of man. The last three days have been the days and nights of sorest trial I ever had. . . . The fevered heat of my hands and head in the night season, and the sleepless hours appointed to me are indeed a new thing in the history of my trouble. Yet I am strong, witness my riding this day twenty-four miles. Nor have I any fears of myself; but I am strangely, strangely held, deeply afflicted. I felt myself shut up to the necessity of going direct from Liverpool to Greenock by the steamboat. I have written my mother, and proposed going that way, but have put it off. God may give me liberty as I return. Now I feel unable to take care of myself, and my calm judgment is that you should be my nurse and companion. I write not these things to trouble you, but to put you in possession of the truth. I will any way abide your answer here. . . . I now think Maggie should not come. In great haste not to lose the post,

"Your faithful and loving husband,

"EDWD. IRVING.

"Oh, how I have longed after you in heart and spirit!"

"Liverpool, 13th October.

"MY DEAREST ISABELLA,— . . . . Last night I had comparatively good rest, and was able to keep down the fever and

prevent the perspiration by timeous sponging with vinegar and water. What it indicates I know not, but I have had to-day and last night a good deal of those cold creepings upon the skin which Dr. Darling used to inquire about. I think, before you leave London, you should let him know these things. There is nothing I have kept back from you.

"Now, my dear, I have sought to serve God, and I do put my trust in Him; therefore I am not afraid. He hath sore chastised me, but not given me over to death. I shall yet live and discover His wonderful works. I have oft felt as if one of the ends of the Lord in His visitation were to constrain me to send for you at this point of my progress; and that another was to preclude me from further journeying on horseback into these parts of England and into Scotland. At the same time, in your coming, if you see it your duty to come, proceed tenderly and carefully in respect to yourself, coming by such stages as you can bear. I hope you will find me greatly better under this quiet and hospitable roof.

"Be of good courage, my dear wife, and bear thy trials, as thou hast ever done, with yet more and more patience and fortitude. It will be well with the just man at the last. . . . Now farewell. The blessing of God be upon you all.

"Your faithful and loving husband,

"EDWD. IRVING."

Thus ended for ever the correspondence between the husband and wife. The history of that lingering journey, with its breezes of health, its hopes of recovery, its pauses of refreshment among the sweet Welsh valleys, where the parish priests of a national church, more powerful but less absolute than his own, opened wide their doors and their hearts to his presence and his counsels; the bits of legend picked up for his little Maggie; the silent progress along mountain paths, all sanctified with prayer, where "the Lord laid" such a one "on his heart;" the forlorn temerity with which, fainting and fevered, he pushes on,

no longer aware of the landscape or of the people round him, brought down to bare existence, hard enough ado to keep his frame erect on the saddle, and to retain light enough to guide his way in those dimmed eyes; the yearning that seizes upon him at last for the companion of his life, bursting out pathetically in that exclamation which he puts down after his letter is finished, at the end, in an irrepressible outcry—"Oh how I have longed after you in heart and spirit!"—all is clearer written in these letters than in anything that could be added to them. His wife obeyed his call at once, and joined him in Liverpool. Again her sisters write to each other, wringing their hands with a grief and impatience which can scarcely express itself in words. "Isabella set off for Liverpool on Thursday," says Mrs. Hamilton; "in her letter she says she found Edward looking much worse than when he left home, his strength considerably reduced, and his pulse 100. Notwithstanding this, they were, she said, to sail for Glasgow on Monday, and so proceed to the ultimate object which was in view in Mr. Irving's leaving home, —his going to Glasgow to organize a church there. Oh me! it is sad, sad to think of his deliberately sacrificing himself! Dr. Darling has decidedly said that he cannot, humanly speaking, live over the winter, unless he retire to a milder climate and be entirely at rest. Yet at this inclement season they proceed northward, and take that cold and boisterous passage too, by way of making bad worse." No wonder those affectionate spectators were touched with the anger of grief in their powerless anguish, finding it impossible to turn him for a moment from the path to which he believed

himself ordained, and compelled to look on and see him consummate all his sacrifices with this offering of his life.

The weather was boisterous and stormy, but the dying apostle,—who was not an apostle, nor amid all the gifts that surrounded him, anyway gifted, except as God in nature and grace had endowed His faithful servant—did not depart from his purpose. He went to Greenock, accompanied by his wife, whose heart was delivered from all wifely and womanish terrors by undoubting confidence in that "word of the Lord" which had promised him a great and successful mission in Scotland. At Greenock they seem to have encountered Mrs. Stewart Ker, a lady of singular piety, whom Irving valued highly, and whose remarkable letters, though not published, are known and prized by many good people. In one of these letters, dated October 25th, 1834, she thus describes his changed appearance, and the manner in which he entered Glasgow:—

"To human appearance he is sinking under a deep consumption. His gigantic frame bears all the marks of age and weakness; his tremendous voice is now often faltering, and when occasionally he breaks forth with all his former feeling, one sees that his bodily powers are exhausted. Add to all this the calm, chastened dignity of his expression—his patient waiting upon God for the fulfilment of His purposes to himself and his flock through this affliction, and it is exceedingly edifying. . . . I was going to Glasgow with them; and just before we left the house, he lifted up his hands in blessing, commending them (the family under whose roof he was) to Jesus, and to the reward of His grace, for their kindness to him. I had a great deal of conversation with him in the boat. . . . In driving through the

crowded streets of Glasgow, he laid aside his hat and exclaimed, 'Blessed be the name of the Shepherd of Israel, who has brought us to the end of our journey in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Peace!' and continued for some time praying."

It was thus, with uplifted hands and words of thanksgiving and blessing, that he entered Glasgow. He thought he had a great work to accomplish in that centre of life and wickedness and sorrow; and so he had; but it was no longer to labour or battle that God called His servant. He was not destined to descend from the height of hope which still trembled with the promised lustre of "power from on high" to the chill land of shadows and disappointment and deferred blessings that lay below. But it was a surprise which his Master had prepared for him,—a nearer road to the glory and the perfection that he dreamed of—not to work nor to fight, but to die.

Here once more, and for the last time, Irving took the pen in his trembling hand, and revealed himself in the fast-closing twilight of his life. He wrote two pastoral letters from Glasgow, containing most pathetic acknowledgment of the sins by which he and his Church had "let and hindered" the work of God—sins which, if they were anything more special than that general unbelief and slowness of heart with which every apostle has had to upbraid his fellow-Christians, are lost in the mysterious records of the Church, and unintelligible except to those who may be thoroughly acquainted with all the details of its origin. His last private letter, written only ten days before his death to his "dear brother," William Hamilton, lies under

no such obscuring haze,—but gives with sad and affecting simplicity a final glimpse of his fainting flesh and trusting soul: —

"You will be sorry to hear," he writes with the restrained utterance of weakness, "that I continue very weak. Indeed, the Lord has now permitted me to be brought very low; but my trust and confidence is in Him only, and not in any other, and when He sees fit He will renew my strength. Oh, my brother, cleave you to Him! He is the only refuge. Isabella is in excellent health, and sustained under all her trials. Samuel was with us yesterday. He is quite well, though much troubled for me, as I believe all my friends are."

These were the last words of private affection which dropped from his feeble pen. Amid the friends who were all troubled for him, he was the only one unmoved. He had not yet come to the discussion of that last question, which like all the rest was to be given against him, but still smiled with a heart-breaking confidence over the daily dying of his own wasted frame, waiting for the wonderful moment when God should send back the vigorous life-current to his forlorn and faithful heart.

The last scene of the history now approaches rapidly. For a few weeks he is visible about Glasgow — now appearing against the sunshine in a lonely street, his horse's hoofs echoing slowly along the causeway, his gaunt gigantic figure rising feeble against the light; now in the room which his Glasgow disciples have found to meet in — still preaching — recognising one of Dr. Chalmers's old "agency" who comes to see him after the service, and recalling, with the courtesy of the heart, to his wife, who has forgotten the stranger,

the familiar Kirkcaldy name he bears; walking home after the worship is over, fain to lean upon the arm of the elder who has come hastily from London to be near him, while his wistful wife goes mournful by his side, carrying the stick which is now an insufficient support to his feebleness — sometimes pausing, as they thread the streets in this sad fashion, to take breath and gather strength; a most sorrowful, pathetic picture. The hearers were few in the Lyceum room, in comparison with former times; but in the street, as he passed along, many a sad glance followed him, and the people stood still, with compassionate looks, to point out to each other "the great Edward Irving." His friend, Mr. Story, came hurriedly up from Rosneath to see him, with hopes of persuading him thither, to that mild climate and tranquil seclusion; but found he had gone down to Erskine, on the opposite bank of the Clyde, to consult Dr. Stewart, the physician-minister, with whom, in joyful, youthful days, these two had spent their Saturday holidays in the East Lothian Manse. Neither Dr. Stewart nor any man could aid him now. He came back to the house of the kind stranger and enthusiastic disciple who had taken him in, in Glasgow, and, nature refusing longer to keep up that unreasonable conflict, lay down upon the bed from which he was never to rise.

Dr. Rainy, who attended him, informed me of various particulars in these last days; but indeed, so touched with tears, after nearly thirty years' interval, was even the physician's voice, and so vivid the presentment of that noble, wasted figure, stretched in utter weakness, but utter faith, waiting for the moment when God, out

of visible dying should bring life and strength, that I cannot venture to record with any distinctness those heart-breaking details. By times, when on the very verge of the grave, a caprice of sudden strength seized the patient; he sighed for "God's air" and the out-door freshness which he thought would restore him. He assured the compassionate spectator, whose skilled eyes saw the golden chords of life melting asunder, how well he knew that he was to all human appearance dying, yet how certainly he was convinced that God yet meant to raise him; and again, and yet again, commended "the work of the Holy Ghost" to all faith and reverence; adding, with pathetic humility, that of these gifts he himself had never been "found worthy." Never death-bed appealed with more moving power to the heart. His mother and sister came to see him, but I know nothing of the intercourse between that sorrowful mother and the last and greatest of her sons. His life-long friends from Kirkcaldy were also there to watch by his bed, to support the poor wife, whose faith gave way at last, and who consented, with such pangs of natural love and disappointed faith as it would be hard to estimate, that the "word of the Lord" must have had some other interpretation—that God had no purpose of interposing, in visible power, for his deliverance, and that Edward must die; and their home letters give the clearest picture of Irving's last hours. With fluctuations of despairing hope, Dr. Martin and his son wrote to the anxious sisters. Sometimes there were better symptoms — gleams of appetite, alleviation of pain; but throughout all, a burning fever, which nothing could subdue, consumed away the fainting life. "Your

mother and I are at Mr. Taylor's," writes Dr. Martin, on the 4th December; "he is a most devout believer in the reality of the gifts, of Mr. Irving's divine commission, &c., and has hardly ever faltered in his faith that Edward is still to recover strength; till this morning Isabella has never had a doubt of it." This was on Thursday. As the week waned, the frame which enclosed that spirit, now almost wholly abstracted with its God, died hourly. He grew delirious in those solemn evenings, and "wandered" in his mind. Such wandering! "So long as his articulation continued so distinct that we could make anything of his words, it was of spiritual things he spoke, praying for himself, his church, and his relations." Sometimes he imagined himself back among his congregation in London, and in the hush of his death chamber, amid its awe-stricken attendants, the faltering voice rose in broken breathings of exhortation and prayer. "Sometimes he gave counsel to individuals: and Isabella, who knew something of the cases, could understand" what he meant. Human language has no words, but those which are common to all mental weakness, for such a divine abstraction of the soul, thus hovering at the gates of heaven. Once in this wonderful monologue he was heard murmuring to himself sonorous syllables of some unknown tongue. Listening to those mysterious sounds, Dr. Martin found them to be the Hebrew measures of the 23rd Psalm — "The Lord is my Shepherd," into the latter verses of which the dying voice swelled as the watcher took up and echoed the wonderful strain — "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil." As the current of life

grew feebler and feebler, a last debate seemed to rise in that soul which was now hidden with God. They heard him murmuring to himself in inarticulate argument, confusedly struggling in his weakness to account for this visible death which at last his human faculties could no longer refuse to believe in—perhaps touched with ineffable trouble that his Master had seemed to fail of His word and promise. At last that self-argument came to a sublime conclusion in a trust more strong than life or death. As the gloomy December Sunday sank into the night shadows, his last audible words on earth fell from his pale lips. "The last thing like a sentence we could make out was, 'If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen.'" And so, at the wintry midnight hour which ended that last Sabbath on earth, the last bonds of mortal trouble dropped asunder, and the saint and martyr entered into the rest of his Lord.

Amen! He who had lived to God for so many hard and bitter years, enduring all the pangs of mortal trouble—in his Lord at last, with a sigh of unspeakable disappointment and consolation, contented himself to die. I know not how to add anything more to that last utterance, which rounds into a perfection beyond the reach of art, this sorrowful and splendid life. So far as sight or sound could be had of him, to use his own touching words, he had "a good voyage," though in the night and dark. And again let us say, Amen!

They buried him in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, like his Master, in the grave of a stranger—the same man who had first introduced him to London

coming forward now to offer a last resting-place to all that remained of Edward Irving. He was followed to that noble vault by all that was good and pious in Glasgow, some of his close personal friends, and many of his immediate followers, mingling in the train with the sober members of Dr. Chalmers's agency, and "most of the clergy of the city," men who disapproved his faith while living, but grudged him not now the honour due to the holy dead. The great town itself thrilled with an involuntary movement of sorrow. "Every other consideration," says the *Scottish Guardian*, a paper at all times doubly orthodox, "was forgotten, in the universal and profound sympathy with which the information was received," and all voices uniting to proclaim over him that divine consolatory verdict of the Spirit, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." There he lies, in such austere magnificence as Scotland has nowhere else preserved to enshrine her saints, until his Lord shall come, to vindicate, better than any human voice can do, the spotless name and honour of His most faithful servant and soldier. So far as these volumes present the man himself with his imperfections breaking tenderly into his natural grandeur, always indivisible, and moving in a profound unity of nature through such proof of all sorrows as falls to the lot of few, I do not fear that his own words and ways are enough to clear the holy and religious memory of Edward Irving of many a cloud of misapprehension and censure of levity; and so far as I have helped this, I have done my task.

He died in the prime and bloom of his days, forty-two years old, without, so far as his last writings leave any

trace, either decadence of intellect or lowering of thought; and left, so far as by much inquiry I have been able to find out, neither an enemy nor a wrong behind him. No shadow of unkindness obscures the sunshine on that grave which in old days would have been a shrine of pilgrims. The pious care of his nephew has emblazoned the narrow Norman lancet over him, with a John Baptist, austere herald of the cross and advent; but a tenderer radiance of human light than that which encircled the solitary out of his desert, lingers about that resting-place. There lies a man who trusted God to extremity, and believed in all Divine communications with truth as absolute as any patriarch or prophet; to whom mean thoughts and unbelieving hearts were the only things miraculous and out of nature; who desired to know nothing in heaven or earth, neither comfort, nor peace, nor rest, nor any consolation, but the will and work of his Master, whom he loved—yet to whose arms children clung with instinctive trust, and to whose heart no soul in trouble ever appealed in vain. He was laid in his grave in the December of 1834—a life-time since; but scarce any man who knew him can yet name, without a softened voice and a dimmed eye, the name of Edward Irving—true friend and tender heart—martyr and saint.

THE END.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

Case of Miss Fancourt as described by herself in a Letter to a Friend.

"My dear Christian Friend,—

"I received yours of the 22nd, on Friday last, and take up my pen with pleasure to inform you of the particulars of the Lord's gracious dealings with me; in doing which, I cannot refrain from saying, 'Oh, magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt His name together!' I transcribe you a copy of facts, which, by the wish of my dearest father, I have written out for the perusal of our Christian friends; it is a plain detail of facts, from the commencement of my illness. In the month of November 1822, having for some months been in a bad state of health, it pleased God to visit me with a hip disease. Perfect rest was recommended by the late Mr. Pearson, of Golden Square, as absolutely necessary. . . . . This was the last application; and, in September 1828, I returned home as unable to walk as when leaving; once or twice the attempt was made, but produced much pain. From this time no means have been used excepting constant confinement to the couch. Within these few weeks, even on the very day in which Jesus so manifested His Almighty power, I had attempted to walk: scarcely could I put one foot before the other; the limbs trembled very much. Thus it continued till the 20th of October, 1830, when a kind friend, who had seen me about two months before, had been led by God to pray earnestly for my recovery, remembering what is written, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive.' He asked in faith, and God graciously answered his prayer. On Wednesday night, my friend being about to leave the room, Mr. G. begged to be excused a short time. Sitting near me, we talked of his relatives, and of the death of his brother; rising, he said, they will expect me at supper, and put out his hand.

"After asking some questions respecting the disease, he added, 'It is melancholy to see a person so constantly confined.' I answered, 'It is sent in mercy.' 'Do you think so? Do you think the same mercy could restore you?' God gave me faith, and I answered,

'Yes.' 'Do you believe Jesus could heal, as in old times?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe it is only unbelief that prevents it?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe that Jesus could heal you at this very time?' 'Yes.' (Between these questions he was evidently engaged in prayer.) '*Then*,' he added, 'get up and walk to your family.' He then had hold of my hand. He prayed to God to glorify the name of Jesus. I rose from my couch quite strong. God took away all my pains, and we walked down stairs. Dear Mr. G. prayed most fervently, Lord, have mercy upon us! Christ, have mercy upon us! Having been down a short time, finding my handkerchief left on the couch, taking the candle, I fetched it. The next day I walked more than a quarter of mile, and on Sunday from the Episcopal Jews' Chapel, a distance of one mile and a quarter. Up to this time God continues to strengthen me, and I am perfectly well. To Jesus be all the glory. It is material to add that my legs, the flesh of which was loose and flabby, feeling them in a short time after I walked down, were firm as those of a person in full health. The back, which was curved, is now perfectly straight. My collar-bones have been pronounced by a surgeon to be in quite a natural state, whereas one of them was before much enlarged. I must tell you that my mind had not been at all occupied with those events which had taken place in Scotland; indeed all I had heard concerning them was, that a young person had been restored in answer to prayer; this was perhaps five or six months back. I had heard of nothing since, and can with truth say, my mind had never been led to the contemplation of such subjects. I had not the least idea that my dear friend was offering up prayer in my behalf, for he did not say so till after the mighty work was wrought; he then said, 'This was my errand; for this I have been earnestly praying; and with all humility gave the glory to Jesus, to whom be all might, majesty, and dominion.'

"ELIZABETH FANCOURT."

APPENDIX B.

The following extracts from Mr. Baxter's "Narrative of Facts" will throw full light upon the condition of the Regent Square Church, and of many devout persons in all parts of the country, in respect to the so-called miraculous gifts.

"For the sake of those whom I may have hardened or betrayed into a false faith is it that I feel called upon to publish my own shame, and confess before all my transgressions. My God, who in His love pardons, has heard, I trust, in secret, and gladly would I rest in the obscurity of my private station without challenging public attention at all. The snare in which I was taken has, however, entangled so many others, and the busy tongues of partisans and tattlers are so much excusing and mis-stating the facts which have developed its character, that I am constrained to give a faithful narrative, at the expense of my own feelings, in the hope that God may open the eyes of the understanding of all who are seeking His truth, and deliver them from the *net of the fowler*. In the detail I am about to enter into, I may lay myself open to the charge of egotism. . . . . Another charge I must underlie which is far more painful to me. The narrative will necessarily involve the conduct of many who have, like myself, though more excusably, been deceived. The regard I bear them as sincere, though deluded, followers after truth; the debt I owe them, as well for the affectionate kindness evinced towards myself, as also for the wounds I have inflicted or exercised on them, by confirming them in delusion; and moreover, the longing I have that they might be brought to the knowledge of the truth (for, as the Apostle said of the Israelites, so may I humbly say of them: *I bear them record that they have a zeal of God but not according to knowledge*): all these increase greatly my desire to say nothing which may in any way wound their feelings. It may be they may consider much of this narrative as disclosing occurrences and opinions which, passing in private, in family wor-

ship, and social intercourse, ought to be treated as confidential; and thus I may be charged with blazoning to the public eye that which came before me in the confidence of friendly intercourse, and with betraying the confidence of friends. Of such a breach of confidence I trust I may, in no case, be guilty. It is simply my wish to show forth the workings of that spirit which challenges, and for which is claimed, the glorious name of the Holy Spirit of Jehovah. . . . .

"Some months before writing the *Layman's Appeal*, I had heard many particulars of the extraordinary manifestations which had occurred at Port Glasgow, in Scotland. . . . . Conceiving as I did, and still do, that there is no warrant in Scripture for limiting the manifestations of the Spirit to the apostolic times — and deeply sensible of the growth of infidelity in the face of the Church, and of the prevalence of formality and lukewarmness within it — I was ready to examine the claims to inspiration, and even anxious for the presence of the gifts of the Spirit, according, as it seemed to me, to that apostolic command, *Covet earnestly the best gifts.* I longed greatly and prayed much for such an outpouring. When I saw, as it seemed to me, proof that those who claimed the gifts were walking honestly, and that the power manifested in them was evidently supernatural, and moreover bore testimony to Christ come in the flesh, I welcomed it at once as the work of God.

"I should mention that I had for twelve months previously to this been in the almost daily habit of reading to and teaching the poor in the parish where I reside, and had found much strength and comfort to myself; and I have reason to believe it was also accompanied with profit to those who heard it. I had carefully avoided any assumption of the ministerial office: so much so that (though I do not now think the scruple well-founded) I had refrained from praying with the people when gathered together, conceiving the privilege of leading in public prayer belonged alone to the ordained ministers. At this period I was, by professional arrangements, called up to London, and had a strong desire to attend at the prayer-meetings which were then privately held by those who spoke in the power, and those who sought for the gifts. Having obtained an introduction, I attended; my mind fully convinced that the power was of God, and prepared as such to listen to the utterances. After one or two brethren had read and prayed, Mr. T—— was made to speak two or three words very distinctly, and with an energy and depth of tone which seemed to me extraordinary, and fell upon me as a supernatural utterance, which I ascribed to the power of God. The words were in a tongue I did not understand. In a few minutes Miss E. C. broke out in an utterance in English, which, as to matter and manner, and the influence it had upon me, I at once bowed to

as the utterance of the Spirit of God. Those who have heard the powerful and commanding utterance need no description; but they who have not may conceive what an unnatural and unaccustomed tone of voice, an intense and riveting power of expression—with the declaration of a cutting rebuke to all who were present, and applicable to my own state of mind in particular—would effect upon me and upon the others who were come together expecting to hear the voice of the Spirit of God. In the midst of the feeling of awe and reverence which this produced, I was myself seized upon by the power; and in much struggling against it was made to cry out, and myself to give forth a confession of my own sin in the matter for which we were rebuked; and afterwards to utter a prophecy that the messengers of the Lord should go forth, publishing to the end of the earth, in the mighty power of God, the testimony of the near coming of the Lord Jesus. The rebuke had been for not declaring the near coming of Jesus, and I was smitten in conscience, having many times refrained from speaking of it to the people, under a fear that they might stumble over it and be offended.

"I was overwhelmed by this occurrence. The attainment of the gift of prophecy which this supernatural utterance was deemed to be, was, with myself and many others, a great object of desire. I could not therefore but rejoice at having been made the subject of it; but there were so many difficulties attaching to the circumstances under which the power came upon me, and I was so anxious and distressed lest I should mistake the mind of God in the matter, that I continued for many weeks weighed down in spirit and overwhelmed. There was in me at the time of the utterance very great excitement, and yet I was distinctly conscious of a power acting upon me beyond the mere power of excitement. So distinct was this power from the excitement, that in all my trouble and doubt about it I never could attribute the whole to excitement. . . . . I regarded the confession which was wrung from me to be the same thing as is spoken of in 1 Cor. xiv., where it is said: 'If all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all: and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth.' It seemed so with me; I was unlearned; the secret of my heart was made manifest; and I was made, by a power unlike anything I had ever known before, to fall down and acknowledge that God was among them of a truth.

"The day following this occurrence I devoted to fasting and prayer, to beseech God to open to me His mind in the matter, that I might not stumble in the way. In the midst of my prayer, the promise in Mat. iv. 5 — 'Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet

before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse' — coupled with the declarations concerning John the Baptist, particularly that in Luke i. 17, 'He shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias,' — was brought before me, and it was written upon my mind, by a power wholly new to me. 'The Lord is now pouring out upon the Church the spirit and power of Elias, to prepare for the second coming of Jesus.' This view was altogether new to me. . . . . I stayed but few days in town, though I had much communication with those who attended upon the utterances. No utterance had then been allowed in the public congregation, but the meetings were strictly private. I argued upon the impropriety of shutting up the manifestations; and strongly urged the offence which, by such a course was given to inquirers, who would be ready to infer that they would not bear the light. . . . . The word spoken seemed to be the gospel of Christ, and the effect upon the hearers a prostration of pride, and a devotedness and apparent patient waiting upon God. . . .

"From this period, for the space of five months, I had no utterances in public; though, when engaged alone in private prayer, the power would come down upon me, and cause me to pray with strong crying and tears for the state of the Church. . . . In the utterances of the power which subsequently occurred, many were accompanied with the flashing in of conviction on the mind, like lightning rooting itself in the earth: whilst other utterances, not being so accompanied, only acted in the way of an authoritative communication.

"In January 1832, occasion was given me, by a professional call to London, to visit the brethren there. . . . For nine months previously, it had been the arrangement of Mr. Irving, the pastor of that church, to have prayer-meetings every morning, at half-past six, to pray for the Church and for the gifts of the Spirit. . . . No commentary upon the Scriptures was given, but it was simply read over, and followed by prayer. In these meetings I had, on one or two occasions, been called upon by the pastor, and had read or prayed before the congregation. On the morning following the day of my arrival, I was called upon again, and opening upon the prophet Malachi, I read the 4th chapter; as I read, the power came upon me, and I was made to read in the power—my voice raised far beyond its natural pitch, with constrained repetition of parts, and with the same inward uplifting which, at the presence of the power, I had always before experienced. When I knelt down to pray, I was carried out to pray in the power, for the presence and blessing of

God in the midst of the Church: in all this I had great joy and peace, without any of the struggling which had attended my former utterances in power.

"Having been asked to spend the evening at a friend's with the pastor, one of the gifted persons (Mrs. J. C.), and three or four others, I went; and whilst discoursing on the state of the Church, some matter of controversy arose, on which I requested the pastor to pray that we might be led into truth. After prayer, Mrs. J. C. was made to testify that now was the time of the great struggle and power of Satan in the midst of us. . . . The pastor observed that this utterance taught us our duty, as standing in the Church, to muster against the enemy; and whilst he was going on to ask more questions, the power fell upon me, and I was made to speak; and for two hours or upwards the power continued upon me; and I gave forth what we all regarded as prophecies concerning the Church and the nation. . . . The power which then rested upon me was far more mighty than before, laying down my mind and body in perfect obedience, and carrying me on without confusion or excitement, — excitement there might appear to a bystander, but to myself it was calmness and peace. Every former visitation of the power had been very brief; but now it continued, and seemed to rest upon me all the evening. The things I was made to utter flashed in upon my mind without forethought, without expectation, and without any plan or arrangement—all was the work of the moment, and I was as the passive instrument of the power which used me.

"In the beginning of my utterances that evening, some observations were, in the power, addressed by me to the pastor, in a commanding tone; and the manner and course of utterance manifested in me, was so far differing from those which had been manifested in the members of his own flock, that he was much startled, and in the first part of the evening doubted whether it was of God or of the enemy . . . . He came up to me and said, 'Faith is very hard.' I was immediately made to address him, and reason with him in the power, until he was fully convinced the Spirit was of God, and gave thanks for the manifestation of it . . . .

"Whilst the people were departing, Mr. Irving called me, with Mr. Brown, his missionary, into another room, and said he was in some trouble as to what he should do on the morrow, which was Sunday, whether to allow me to speak in the full congregation; he had found doubts creep over him during the evening, though he scarcely dared to doubt. Mr. Brown's advice, without any deep consideration of the subject, was: 'Don't do it whilst you have a doubt.' To this Mr. Irving assented, but turned to me, and asked what I thought. Of course, under the conviction which I had, I said he must

not forbid it. Afterwards the power came on me, rebuking him, and reasoning with him until he sat down, and said he was greatly tried, and did not know what to do. I then told him to consult the prophets who were with him; and immediately the power came upon Miss H., who was wholly a stranger to me, but then received as a prophetess among them; and she was made to bear testimony that the work in me was of God, and he must not forbid my speaking. This satisfied him, and he yielded at once. The next day, after the morning prayer-meeting, Miss E. C., at the pastor's house, was made to give forth an utterance, enjoining upon all deference and respect to the Lord's prophets; which served, though she was not aware of what had passed on the preceding evening, to confirm him in that which I had been made to say to him. I was afterwards in the power, in the most fearful terms, made to enjoin the most perfect submission to the utterances. . . . This was so strongly put, that Mr. Irving, on a future occasion, observed to me, he felt tempted to doubt whether the Spirit, bearing testimony in such a manner to itself, was God's method of teaching us submission . . . . At the public services of the Scotch Church on this day, no utterance was given me; but in the intervals of service, whilst sitting with Mr. Irving and one or two friends, the power was so abundant upon me, that almost every question which was asked was answered in the power; and the wisdom and instruction which was given forth from my lips was as astonishing to Mr. Irving as to myself. We all felt as though the Lord was indeed resolving our doubts, and graciously condescending, by His Spirit, to teach us by open voice. Mr. Irving seemed most fully confirmed in the belief, and I was myself exceedingly composed and strengthened.

"On the morrow began a more trying and bitterly painful occurrence. The rebukes which I was made to give to Mr. Irving, for want of ready and implicit obedience to the utterance of the power, whatever might have been their effect upon him, had entered deeply into my own mind. After breakfast, when sitting with Mr. Irving, Mr. P., and a few others, Mr. Irving remarked that Mr. T., when in the Court of Chancery, had found the power mightily upon him, but never a distinct impulse to utterance. Whilst he was speaking on it, I was made in power to declare: 'There go I, and thence to the prison-house.' This was followed by a prophecy setting forth the darkness of the visible Church, referring to the King as the head of the Church of England, and to the Chancellor as the keeper of the conscience of the King. That a testimony should that day be borne before him, which should make the nation tremble at what was coming to pass. That I was to go and bear this testimony, and for this testimony should be cast into prison. That the abomi-

nation of desolation would be set up in the land, and Satan sit in the high places of the Church, showing himself to be God. That the world had now the possession of the visible Church, but for the purity of the doctrine of the Church of England, she, as the last portion of the visible Church, had been anointed holy by the Lord; but she had gone on in worldly cares, and was now so provoking the Lord, and by worldly-mindedness so quenching the Spirit of God, that God had cast her off. That it was necessary a spiritual minister should bear testimony before the conscience-keeper of the head of this Church; and then the abomination of desolation would be set up, and every man must flee to the mountains. Much was added of the judgments of God in the midst of the land: the power upon me was overwhelming; I gave all present a solemn benediction, as though I was departing altogether from among them, and forbidding Mr. Irving, who rose to speak to me as I was going, I went out under the constraint of the power, and shaped my way to the court of the Chancellor, to bear the testimony to which I was commanded.

"As I went on towards the court, the sufferings and trials I underwent were almost beyond endurance. Might it not be a delusion? Ought I not to consider my own character in the sight of the world, which would be forfeited by such an act? and the ruin of all worldly prospects, which would ensue from it, and from my imprisonment? These, and a thousand more subtle and trying suggestions, were cast upon me; but confident that the power speaking in me was of God, it seemed my duty to obey at any sacrifice; and without counting the cost, I gave myself up to God, to do with me and use me as He should see fit. In this mind I went on, expecting, as I entered the court of the Chancellor, the power would come upon me, and I should be made to bear testimony before him. I knew not what I was to say, but supposed that, as on all other occasions, the subject and utterance would be together given. When I entered, no power came on. I stood in the court before the Chancellor for three or four hours, momentarily expecting the power to come upon me; and as the time lengthened, more and more perplexed at its absence. I was tempted to speak in my own strength, without the power; but I judged this could not be faithful to the word of John, as my testimony would not have been in the Spirit. After waiting this time, I came out of court, convinced that there was nothing for me to say.

"The mental conflict was most painful. I left the court under the conviction I had been deluded. If I was deluded, how was it with the others who spoke in the power, one of whom had borne direct testimony to my utterance being of God, and the others of

whom had received me, and heard me, and spoken in power with me, as one of them? Here, however, I failed; I adjudged myself deceived, but I had not sufficient proof, as I thought, to sit in judgment upon them. I thought I had stumbled, but I dared not condemn them. I went at once to Mr. Irving, who, anxious as to the issue of my mission, welcomed me as delivered from prison. I said to him, 'We are snared — we are deceived; I had no message before the Chancellor.' He inquired particulars, but could give no solution. He said—'We must wait. You certainly have received the gift, and the gift and calling of God are without repentance.' We set ourselves to search whether in any thing I had mistaken the directions of the power, but could not discover it. I observed to him—'If the work in me is of the enemy, what will you say of the rest, who have so joined me, and borne witness of me?' 'True,' said he, 'but theirs has been tried in every way.' . . . Deeply was I troubled and perplexed, and much was I humbled before God. . . . In the morning I attended the prayer-meeting, though so much burdened as not to be able to lift up my heart among them. An utterance came from Miss E. C. 'It is discernment ye lack — seek ye for it.' . . . I believe she knew nothing of the issue of the visit to the Chancellor; but be that as it may, the message impressed me, as though it applied to my case; and I was led to think want of discernment would be found to have occasioned my stumbling. . . . The power came upon me, and I was made to say —'The word of the Lord is as fire; and if ye, oh vessel! who speak, refuse to speak the word, ye shall utterly perish! Ye have obeyed the word of the Lord — ye went to the place of testimony — the Spirit was quenched before the conscience of the king — ye, a spiritual minister, have borne witness there — and were ye not cast into prison? Has not the dark dungeon been your prison-house since ye came from the place of testimony? Ye lack discernment, ye must read the word spiritually.' . . . This acted like electricity. I thought, and those who had heard the message of the former morning thought with me, that read spiritually, in which way I ought to have read it, the message concerning the Chancellor had been fulfilled by my silent testimony, and my subsequent darkness and bondage. My satisfaction was complete. . . .

"In the course of the same day, and the day following, a prophecy was given to me that God had cut short the present appointment for ordaining ministers by the laying on of hands by succession from the Apostles; that God would not, henceforth, recognise such ordinations. . . . . As I journeyed on the coach, the power came upon me in the form of a revelation, conveying to me that God had set me apart for a special purpose towards His Church, for which He

would commission and endow me; that for this purpose I should be taken away from my wife and family, and become as a wanderer, without home or habitation. . . . . The conclusion I gathered from it was, that I should never see my wife and children again, supposing the Lord's will to be such as seemed to be revealed to me. . . . . Soon after this the power came upon me, and I was made sensible something was about to be declared concerning the king. . . . . When the utterance burst forth, it was a declaration that the Lord had given the king to the prayer of the queen and of the Church, and his heart should be turned wholly to the Lord. . . . . That I was to stand before the queen, to bear the Lord's testimony to her, and she would bring it in before the king. I then inquired of the Lord who should open the way to the queen,—whether a servant who had been named should do it? The answer given to me from the power was, to take heed to the question, and to go forth now upon this mission; to return to the brethren I had left, and the Lord would declare it in due time. There was given also a mysterious allusion to the three children of Israel in the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar; and an intimation that, before the king's presence was attained, I should have to pass through the fiery trial to the utmost. Family prayer following, I was directed to the psalm, *The king shall joy in thy strength, O Lord:* and as I read it I was made to chant it in the power.

"I returned the same day to town, and the next morning joined the prayer meeting at the Scotch Church. . . . . When we were separating, Mr. P—— came to me to ask me to take up my abode with him. I mentioned to him what had been revealed and confirmed to me, concerning my being set apart wholly to the Lord's work; and I added, I had a little professional business in London, which I must break off, and then I looked for the Lord's direction as to my future course. When I had said this, I perceived the power to rest upon Miss E. C., and to be moving to the utterance of something which she was distressed or troubled about. I turned round and said, 'Speak.' She said, in power, 'Will you hear?' I answered, 'If the Lord give me grace, I will.' She went on in utterance: 'Did ye feel the touch of the enemy? Did ye mark his deceit? Watch, for the enemy lieth in wait;' and continued in a strain of warning; and passing from that into a declaration that great revelations should be given to me, concluded in an encouraging tone. I gathered from this there was something in which I needed to be warned, but I could not understand what in particular it applied to.

"Bearing on my mind the prophecy concerning the king and queen, I asked Mr. Irving, Mr. P——, and Miss E. C., to go apart with me, detailed to them the particulars, and in conclusion sought of

the Lord further direction. The power came on Miss E. C. with the answer, 'It is not yet, it is not yet. It shall be a plain way. The way shall be very plain.' From this we gathered we must not at present look for the fulfilment. Mr. Irving then asked me the particulars of the revelation and messages separating me from my family, and setting me apart. I gave all particulars, which, though he was before startled, seemed to give him full satisfaction; and after a few observations he came up to me and said, 'Well, dear brother, be not puffed up with the abundance of revelations.' I was then most grievously weighed down in spirit, without knowing fully the cause. On his observing it and asking the reason, I said, 'I know not what it is; I am overwhelmed; I have yet to break my connection with my professional engagements here, and it seems as though Satan would not suffer me.' Immediately the power in Miss E. C. cried out, 'To the word! to the written word!' with peculiar emphasis upon 'written.' This was repeated several times, to my great confusion. Mr. Irving then said, 'A passage is brought to my mind, whether the suggestion of it is from below or from above, as applying it to this case, I cannot tell: *If any man provide not for his own, he hath denied the faith.*' Miss E. C. in the power said, 'That is it;' and went on to speak of the great stumbling-blocks which were cast before the people, and of the woeful effects of stumbling and offences. Mr. Irving then added, 'It seems strange to me you should leave your wife;' and immediately a response in power from Miss E. C. followed: 'Ye must not leave her.' If a thunderbolt had burst at my feet it would not have created half the pain and agonizing confusion which these utterances cast upon me. The impression rushed on me like a flood. 'The revelation must then have been of Satan.' . . . . This was the agonizing suggestion of a moment. I reeled under the weight of it. I paused a little, and under the revulsion of feeling which always succeeds any violent excitement, I was ready to say, 'It is impossible.' I fell on my knees and cried aloud to God—'Oh, Lord, Thou knowest that in honesty of heart Thy servant hath performed what has been done; show now whether Thou meanest that he has altogether stumbled, and been deceived; or whether it is that, though true, it will be a stumbling-block to others.' Racked with the most fierce mental conflict, I endeavoured to lift up my soul in patient waiting upon God, and in a little time I seemed to have light upon the subject, which spoke peace in a measure to me. It was that the messages and revelations were of God, but that I had mistaken them in supposing they called for my immediate cessation from all worldly labour; that the time of my so ceasing was not yet, and the time of my leaving my family was not yet; and that the reproof had been

sent me to correct my haste and rashness in rushing upon their immediate fulfilment. . . . .

"At breakfast at Mr. Irving's, the closing scene of my unhappy ministrations among them was no less remarkable than mysterious. Very great utterance had, for several mornings, been given me at family prayers there, and particularly beautiful and comforting expositions of Scripture were given from the power. This morning a clergyman was present. He was talking to Mr. Irving, but I did not hear his observations. Presently the sister of Miss E. C., who sat by me, said, 'That gentleman is grieving the Spirit.' I looked, and saw a frown resting on Miss E. C., and presently she spoke in rebuke; but I did not gather more from it than that the clergyman had been advancing something erroneous. Mr. Irving then began, as usual, to read a chapter, to which I had been made in power to direct him; but instead of my expounding, as before, the power resting upon me revealed there were those in the room who must depart. Utterance came from me that we were assembled at a holy ordinance, to partake of the body and blood of Christ; and it behoved all to examine themselves, that they might not partake unworthily. None going out, I was made again and again still more peremptorily to warn, until the clergyman in question, and an aged man, a stranger, had gone out, when Mr. Irving proceeded in reading the chapter, *I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of His wrath;* and I was made to expound, as usual, with great setting forth of God's love in the midst of the trials of His people, and with great promises of blessing. It was greatly to my own comfort, and I believe also to that of others. I then prayed in the power; and when all was concluded, I was made in power to declare to Mr. Irving that he had seen in this an example of the ministration of the supper of the Lord, as he had before seen the example of baptism; that he must preach and declare them to his flock, for speedily would the Lord bring them forth; that the opening of the Word was the bread, and the indwelling and renewing presence of the Spirit the wine—the body and blood of our Lord;—and the discourse of spirits would not permit the unbelievers to mingle with the faithful, but they would be driven out, as he had seen. Then in power I was made to warn all of the snares of the enemy, and concluded with the remarkable words, 'Be not ye like Peter. *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.*' . . . . I had not any previous idea that on this morning the ministrations of the Lord's Supper would be given, nor had I, until this was set before me, any conception what its spiritual ministration would be. . . . .

"I returned to the country deeply depressed, though quite unshaken in my faith of the work. . . . . Then followed in the

power a most emphatic declaration, that on the day after the morrow we should both be baptized with fire . . . . that had the Church in London manifested greater love, this baptism and power would have been given then; but now it should be given her; and on the day named we should receive it, and thenceforward would the work proceed in swiftness, and not again tarry. . . . . We were overjoyed with these communications, and in fulness of hope and confidence awaited the day of fulfilment. The interval was filled up by very powerful and frequent utterances in interpretation of Scripture and in confirmation of the work. The day named arrived, and in the evening an utterance from the power, 'Kneel down and receive the baptism of fire.' We knelt down, lifting up prayer to God continually. Nothing, however, ensued. Again and again we knelt, and again and again we prayed, but still no fulfilment. Surprising as it may seem, my faith was not shaken; but day by day, for a long time, we continued in prayer and supplication, continually expecting the baptism. My wife gradually concluded the whole must be delusion, and ceased to follow it. For six weeks, however, I continued unshaken to ask after it, but found it not. . . . .

"Being anxious to communicate with Mr. Irving, I travelled on to London, and reached him on the morning of his appearance before the Presbyters of London. Calling him and Mr. J. C. apart, I told them my conviction that we had all been speaking by a lying spirit, and not by the Spirit of the Lord."

The above quotations are chosen as throwing light upon the little body of prophets and gifted persons surrounding Irving, rather than as tracing the extraordinary career of Mr. Baxter himself, who, in the intervals of these scenes, gives pages of direct prophecy and large expositions of scripture, all of which were revealed to him in "the power," showing himself to have been much the most active and urgent of the band, always thrusting matters to extremes. The manner in which he came to himself, by discovering error in Irving's doctrine respecting the person of our Lord, in regard to which "an utterance in power broke from me, 'He has erred, he has erred,'" is, like the prophecies, too lengthy for quotation.

APPENDIX C.

Speeches of Irving before the Presbytery of London, March, 1832.

On Wednesday morning, at the meeting of the court, pursuant to adjournment, Mr. Irving commenced his defence as follows:—

"The four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, have one after another recorded it for our learning, that the forerunner and messenger whom God chose and sealed from his mother's womb, yea, and gave to his parents for that very end, John the Baptist, who came forth from the wilderness of Judea to proclaim and herald the coming of the Son of God, did it in these words—

"'There cometh One mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose: I, indeed, have baptized you with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.' Of such consequence did the eternal God, in whose presence we stand, deem it, that the Son of God should be known by the name of Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, that He did send forth His messenger before His face, greater than any of the prophets, with no other message but to announce him by this name, 'He it is who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.' And when our Lord Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, had arisen from the dead, and had appeared among His disciples, and had spoken to them of the things concerning the kingdom of God, He opened their understandings, that they should understand the Scriptures; but told them to wait in Jerusalem, and expect the promise of the Father, for that not many days hence they should be baptized by the Holy Ghost. He also considered His office of Baptizer with the Holy Ghost to be so essential a part of His dignity and of His name, that He forbade His disciples who had travelled with Him, who had been instructed by Him, whose weakness He had borne with, and whose hearts He had purified by His words, to proceed forth from Jerusalem without that baptism: and it is for the name of Christ, as the Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, that I am this day called in question. It is for that name, which God deemed so sacred and important, as to give it to the Baptist to proclaim, and which the Son of God deemed so important that He

would not suffer His disciples to go forth and preach till they had received the substance of that baptism; it is for that name, even for the name of Jesus, the Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, that I now stand here before you, sir, and before this court, and before all this people, and am called in question this day. It hath pleased Him, of His great grace, in answer to the prayers of His people, acting faith on the name of Jesus, crying mightily to Him day and night, that He would fulfil His faithfulness to that name; it hath pleased Him to give to some of us, in my church, this baptism, with its sign of speaking in unknown tongues, and with its substance of prophesying; and I, as His dutiful minister, standing in this room, responsible (as ye all are) to Him, have not dared to believe that, when we prayed to God for bread, He would give us a stone; that when we asked for a fish, He would send us a serpent; but believing that He is faithful who has promised, and trying the thing given by test of the Holy Scriptures, and the testimony of God in my own conscience, and in that of His people, and having thus been satisfied of the truth of the manifestations, I have not dared to put it to silence, as being the thing witnessed in the Holy Scriptures; and have ordered it, as I can show, in nothing contrary to the standards of the Church. Yet, because I would not put my hand on it to suppress the voice of the Spirit against the conscience, both of myself and also of most of my people, against my sense of duty, against the Word of God, against the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,—because I would not suppress this at once with an high hand,—for these reasons am I called in question before you.

"This is a matter of high import; this is a matter of great concernment. May the Lord give me grace to open it in order; may the Lord also give me strength to sustain the burden of so great a cause; and may the Lord give me wisdom in my words, that I may utter nothing which may be a stumbling-block to the least of these little ones; that I may give no offence—no needless offence—to any of His enemies; but that I may order my discourse in the same manner as my Lord would have done, standing in my room. Yea, do thou, Lord Jesus, speak through thy servant, and enable him to set forth the very truth of God.

"That I may lay this case rightly before this court, and in order, this method presents itself to my mind:—

"First,—As I am to justify the thing which I have done, it is needful to show the grounds on which I did it; and to show the grounds on which I did it, it is needful to show the thing in the Word of God, which I believe God has given us. This is the first thing I must do; for even the heathen could say, 'that the song and the discourse should begin from God.' Next, It is needful that I show you that the

thing which we have received is the very thing contained in the Word of God, and held out to the hope and expectation of the Church of God,—yea, of every baptized man. Thirdly, That I show you how I have ordered it, as the minister of the Church; and show also, that the way in which I have ordered it is according to the Word of God, and in nothing contradictory to the standards of the Church of Scotland. Fourthly, To speak a little concerning the use of the gifts. And finally, To show how we stand as parties, and how the case stands before this court; and then I shall leave it to the judgment of you, and of all here present.

"I read it in the Gospels—and it is in all the four Gospels—that John the Baptist spoke the following words:—'I, indeed, baptize you with water, unto repentance; but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' Now, in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, I find it thus written:—'And being assembled together with them, He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of me; for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence.' We have here this message from God by the mouth of the Baptist, that Jesus was He who should baptize with the Holy Ghost; that that was the end of His coming: and we have here also the declaration from the mouth of Jesus Himself, after His resurrection, that He had not done that in the days of His flesh, neither between His resurrection and ascension, but that He was to do it not many days hence, when He was ascended into glory. The baptism of the Holy Ghost, therefore, is a thing which was not by Jesus in His ministry while on earth accomplished; nor by His teaching while on earth accomplished; but it was accomplished when He had ascended up on high, not many days thereafter. On the day of Pentecost, as we see in the second of Acts, was it accomplished; and here is the description of it:—'And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.' Here is the baptism with the Holy Ghost which Jesus promised to them when He should go to the Father; and the way in which it was manifested, was the speaking with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

"Now Peter, when preaching on that occasion to the people, said

to them these words: 'Therefore, being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost;' that is what he directed their attention to, when he said: 'Wait for the promise of the Father, and ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost;' being, he says, 'by the right hand of God exalted;' and having received this promise, He hath shed forth this that ye now see' in these men 'and hear' in these men, speaking with other tongues, and magnifying God.

"The effect of this discourse on the people is thus described: 'Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter, and to the rest of the Apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?' Peter having said to them that Jesus, who had just ascended to the Father, had now shed down the gift of the Holy Ghost on His Church, which ye now see and hear, says to all people: 'Repent and be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost;' the same thing He had been discoursing of, and to which their attention had been drawn by the outpouring of the Spirit, and speaking in the midst of them. And if ye were in like manner exercised, when ye hear in the Church, speaking with tongues and magnifying God — and ye never hear them do anything else in my Church than speaking with tongues and magnifying God — ye would hear the word of truth saying to yourselves: 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gifts of the Holy Ghost.' We have all been baptized, and it is our privilege to be baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire; otherwise Peter held out a false message, and preached a false Gospel, and connected a false benefit with baptism; for he promised it distinctly to all. If Christian baptism be that which Peter on the day of Pentecost set forth, preached, and ministered, every baptized person is privileged to expect, and ought to possess, and, through faith, shall receive, the gift of the Holy Ghost; 'for the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all;' not to this generation only, but to another, and another, and another; for, it is added, 'to them that are afar off,' Gentiles as well as Jews; Jews at hand, Gentiles afar off; yea, 'even to as many,' without exception, 'as the Lord our God shall call.' Ye are called; ye are called by the ministry of the Gospel. We are all called; we are all baptized with the baptism which Peter preached; for there is no other. Jesus had commanded Peter and the Apostles to go forth into all nations, and preach the Gospel to every creature, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Peter obeyed that commandment, and, in obeying it, said: 'Ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the

Lord our God shall call.' But Peter's words are only a quotation, a part of the text of his discourse. The text is taken from Joel; and in the conclusion of his discourse, he embodies the text to his people, referring them to their own prophets; for he was speaking to them that believed the prophets. Peter knew himself to be a man of no reputation, and despised among them. He could say nothing of his own authority. He, therefore, directed their attention to their own prophets, and he referred them to the prophecy of Joel, as containing the promise of the outpouring of the Spirit, and assured them, in the words of Joel, that it should be fulfilled in those days. Now, what is the promise of Joel? 'And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions; and also upon the servants, and upon the handmaidens in those days' (twice over you have here repeated daughters and handmaidens) 'will I pour out my Spirit.' He taketh the first words of that text, 'Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,' and tells them, 'the promise is to you and to your children;' and he taketh the last words of it, 'As many as the Lord our God shall call;' and so, knitting them both in one, he projects it on baptism, and binds the prophecy of Joel to baptism. And I say that every baptized person is privileged to possess this gift, and is responsible for it, and will possess it through faith in God; and only does not possess it, because he hath rejected the promise of God, and turneth away from it. I say it is knit unto baptism,—it is the rubric of baptism. And no minister baptizeth in the manner Peter baptized, who doth not hold out to the baptized person, not only the remission of sins, but also the gift of the Holy Ghost, as set forth in that promise of Joel, which is to 'as many as the Lord your God shall call.' Brethren, this is for the conscience; it is not for the members of the body, for the feet, nor for the hands, but for the conscience of men.

"Now, sir, it is about four or five years ago, very soon after we entered the National Scotch Church,—I think immediately before the first sacrament therein,—for the last thing we did in the Caledonian Church was to administer the Lord's Supper; and immediately before the next ordinance in November, that I was called, I felt called upon to open to the people the subject of the sacraments, in order to prepare them with due knowledge for sitting down at the Lord's table; and so far back as that time I opened to them what I now open in your hearing, and in the hearing of this court; and I gave it as my judgment before them all, that every one of us is responsible for the baptism of the Holy Ghost, in all the fulness in

which it was administered by Jesus on the day of Pentecost, and in all the fulness contained in that name of Baptizer with the Holy Ghost.

"What would ye say if any one were to stand up and reason thus: 'Yea, John the Baptist said of Jesus, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. No doubt Jesus was the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. He was so for one or two generations, but he is so no longer.' And what do ye say now to those who reason in this manner, and who affirm, after John the Baptist announced the same Jesus as He who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost, and after Jesus Himself had turned the attention of His disciples to the thing that was to be fulfilled not many days hence, as the baptism with the Holy Ghost (and when that baptism took place, it was with speaking with tongues and prophesying on the day of Pentecost; and Peter, thereupon, baptizing with water, gave the promise of it to the whole Church): what say ye to those who say, 'Oh, yes, he was the baptizer with the Holy Ghost, in that kind, for one century or two; but he is no longer so now?' What do I say to them, but that they are deniers of the name of Jesus? And if they repent not, now that Jesus is manifesting Himself by this name, His judgments will alight on their heads.

"This was several years before any manifestations appeared; and as the Lord ordered, that book containing the Homilies on Baptism was printed, and was before the Church several years before any manifestations appeared; clearly showing you that it was a conviction of my own soul, gathered from the Word of God, and preached publicly in the whole congregation, and the whole congregation entreated faithfully to give heed to it. Now I need not go into other scriptures in order to confirm what I have now said; because, a thing coming forth from the mouth of the Baptist, and promised by the mouth of Jesus, and sealed up in an ordinance by Peter, needeth not to be confirmed. You might as well take the passage in the sixth chapter of John, where our Lord, speaking of the eating of His flesh in order to everlasting life, and which He knit up in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my body;' you might as well require that that discourse in the sixth chapter of John, sealed up in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, needeth more scriptures to confirm it, as that the proclamation of Christ's name by the Baptist as Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, the substantiation of it by Christ Himself on the day of Pentecost, and the knitting of it up in the ordinance of baptism, needeth confirmation. But if confirmation be wanting, I have the book before me; and from end to end there is not one passage in which the gifts of the

Holy Ghost are mentioned, where they are not mentioned as the property of the whole Church, as the blessing of the whole Church, as needful to the growth of the whole Church, and as designed to continue until that which is perfect is come,—to continue until we shall see eye to eye, and face to face. And again, in the fourth chapter of Ephesians, it is said, these gifts were to continue 'until we all arrive at the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.' Christ ascending up on high gave 'to some apostles, to some prophets, to some evangelists, to some pastors and teachers,' giving them all alike, without alteration or reservation, 'for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, until we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

"How any man dareth to take out of this passage apostles, evangelists, prophets, and to say that they were only intended for a season, but that the pastor and the teacher were intended always to continue, I never have been able to find a reason. But I hold it to be a daring infraction of the integrity of the Word of God; and permit me to say, it was erroneously alleged of the Church of Scotland that she denieth this doctrine. On referring to the Second Book of Discipline, which I hold in my hand (whereof you ought not to be ignorant, seeing that I have referred to it in the documents), it is distinctly said that though these gifts do not now exist in the Church, they might be revived when occasion served; and that now they have ceased in the Church, except it shall please God to stir some of them up again. Who can say that it hath not now pleased God to stir them up again? But now at this part of the case, if ye intend to act as attesters of the standards of the Church of Scotland merely, and not as attesters and ministers of the Word of God, I ask of you to say, whether the time in which we live, when Antichrist and infidelity are coming forth in all their strength, when wickedness rages on all hands, when the name of Jesus is cast out by the kings and potentates of the earth, and when monarchs are set up to rule in their own names instead of ruling in His name,—I ask if these are not those extraordinary times in which it may please the Lord to raise them up again? But passing that by, it is said they were bestowed for the perfecting of the saints,—for the work of the ministry,—for the edifying of the body of Christ. Do not the saints need to be perfected? The work of the ministry needeth to be wrought. The body needeth to be edified, and we are not yet come to the measure of the stature of Christ; and I believe the Lord will seal apostles; I believe that the Lord hath sealed prophets; and I believe that the Lord will seal evangelists, and pastors, and teachers,

in the power of the Spirit, if only the Church, laying hold of the Word of God, and forsaking the traditions of men; if only the saints of God, believing and establishing themselves on the rock, which is the word of Jesus, and pleading the name of Jesus, and believing on Him as Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, as well as the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; if one half, if one tenth, if one hundredth part of those before me will with confidence look unto Him, and call upon Him, they will find Him faithful,—they will find His name to be a strong tower, to which the righteous runneth and is safe. And it will not be long, whether you consider it or not, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear,—it will not be long until the Lord, who hath sealed prophets, will also seal apostles, and evangelists, and every other gift in His Church. This is the thing, sir, which we expected,—which we prayed for in the National Scotch Church, privately before this time last year; and publicly, about this time last year, we met together about two weeks before the meeting of the General Assembly, to pray that the General Assembly might be guided in judgment by the Lord, the Head of the Church; and we added thereto prayers for the present low estate of the Church; and we cried unto the Lord for apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, anointed with the Holy Ghost, the gift of Jesus: because we saw it written in God's Word that these are the appointed ordinances for edifying the body of Jesus. We continued in prayer, we met morning after morning, at half-past six every morning, and the Lord was not long in hearing and answering our prayers. He sealed first one, then another, then another; and gave them, first, enlargement of spirit in their own devotions when their souls were lifted up to God, and they were closed with him in great nearness; He then gave them to pray in a tongue, which Paul said he was wont to do more than they all: 'I bless God, speaking with tongues, more than you all.' And Paul, speaking of praying in an unknown tongue, says: 'If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prays, but my understanding is unfruitful;' just as, in the evidence of yesterday, the witness declared that, in praying in a tongue, he enjoyed closer communion with God than in praying with the understanding. Paul said, when he came into the congregation, it was for edification of the body of Christ; and he would not then pray in a tongue, because it was out of place: for they understood not the tongue, therefore he prayed both in spirit and in the understanding. But in his private devotion, blessing God in his eucharistical services, he gave thanks, speaking in tongues, more than they all; but in the Church, as contradistinguished from his private devotions, he would rather speak five words with the understanding than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; because then it

was not for edification, for he would in the latter case be to them a barbarian;[6] for no one would understand him unless an interpreter were also present. Just as it was with Paul, so with these persons, for the first time in their private devotions; when they were wrapt up nearest to God, the Spirit took them, and made them to speak sometimes song, sometimes words, in a tongue; and by degrees, according as they sought more and more unto God, the gift became perfected, until they were moved to speak in tongues, even in the presence of others. In this stage I suffered them not to speak in the Church, according to the canon of the Apostle; and even in private, in my own presence, I permitted it not; but I heard that it had been done. I would not have rebuked it; I would have sympathised tenderly with the person who was carried in the Spirit and lifted up; but in the Church I would not have permitted it. In process of time, about fourteen days after, the gift perfected itself; so that they were made to speak in tongues, and prophesy the Word in English, for exhortation, edification, and comfort, which is the proper definition of prophecy, as testified by one of the witnesses.

"Now, when we had received this into the Church, in answer to our prayers, it became me, as the minister of the Church, to try that which we had received. I repeat it: it became me, as minister of the Church, and not another; and my authority for this you will find in the second chapter of Revelations, where the Lord Jesus, writing to the Angel of the Church of Ephesus, speaks thus to him: 'I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience; and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars.' Here the Lord Jesus, the Head of the Church, commended the Angel of the Church of Ephesus, the head of that Church, in whose place I stand in my Church, and in whose place no other standeth (the elders and deacons have their place, but this belongeth to the angel or minister of the Church), and the Lord commendeth him for trying them which say they are apostles, and are not. Therefore, to me, as minister of the Church, watching over the souls of the people, it belongeth to try every one who says he is commissioned of Jesus, be he prophet, apostle or evangelist, pastor or teacher. I, as responsible for those souls, must search into the matter, and it was on my responsibility if I allowed a wolf to come into the fold; and if I keep out one who is a prophet, apostle, or evangelist, and prevent him from exercising the gift given him for the edifying, not of one part of the Church, but of the whole Church of God, I do it at my peril. I dare not do otherwise; because the Lord Jesus, the only Head of the Church, in writing these seven epistles to the angels of the seven churches in Asia, in order to guide them, com-

mendeth the Angel of the Church of Ephesus for having taken upon him this duty; and I, as the minister of the Lord Jesus, dare not disobey him, though the loss of my head, of my life, of an hundred lives, were the consequence. I dared not willingly disobey him, and set to all my people, and to all authorities, an example of disobedience. I was necessitated to obey him, though my life were taken. Therefore, when the Lord sent us what professed to be prophets, what we had prayed for, what the Lord had given in answer to prayer,—when there appeared the sign of the prophet speaking with tongues and prophesying and magnifying God, and what appeared to be true,—I dared not shrink from my plan of trying them, and putting them to the proof; and, if found not so, preventing them, and if they were so, permitting them; yea, and giving thanks to Jesus for having answered our prayers, and sent us the ordinance of prophesying, which is expressly said to be for the edification of the Church; for it is said, 'He that prophesieth edifieth the church.' Moreover, I learned that this duty doth devolve upon me, the angel and pastor of the Church, from the same second chapter of Revelations; where, writing to the Angel of the Church in Thyatira, he says: 'Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman, Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants.' Here we have the proof that there were true prophetesses in the Church. The same thing is referred to in Joel, ii. 28. And again, in the second chapter of Acts, where we are told that Philip the Evangelist had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. And in the second chapter of 1st Corinthians, there are instructions for women to pray and prophesy in a comely manner in the Church. In the Church at Thyatira, this woman, Jezebel, calling herself a prophetess, was permitted to teach. A prophetess may not teach: to teach belongeth to a man; it is an office of authority. A prophetess may prophesy, speaking by the Holy Ghost; and none of those persons prophesying in my Church have ever spoken by any power except by the power of the Holy Ghost, as I believe. But Jezebel was suffered to teach in the Church, and also to seduce the servants of the Lord, contrary to the canons of Paul, given in 1 Cor. ii. and 1 Timothy, ii. I produce this second commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ, your Head, the Head of the Church, my Head, and the Head of every man; whom no man, as he values his own salvation, dares, on any account, willingly to disobey. This commandment of Jesus reproveth the angel of that Church for refusing to do that which was his duty, and permitting this woman, calling herself a prophetess, to teach. So that here have I one commended for fulfilling this duty, and one reproved for not fulfilling it; and I want no more evidence to show that it was my duty, as the servant of Jesus, to fulfil His commandment; and I want no other authority than His command,

whom I must not, whom I dare not, whom I will not disobey, to make trial of the persons who have these gifts; and I proceeded to that trial.

"The first thing towards the trial was to hear them prophesy before myself, and so I did it. The Lord, in His providence, gave me ample opportunity in private prayer meetings, of which many were in the congregation established, of hearing them speaking with tongues, and prophesying; and it was so ordered by Providence, that every person whom I heard was known to myself: so that I had this double test, — first, of their private walk and conversation, and second, of hearing the thing prophesied. The private walk and conversation were, as far as I knew, according to godliness; they waited on the ordinances daily; they were all duly baptized; they were all members of Christ, and therefore fully privileged to expect baptism of the Holy Ghost; they were all in full communion, though not all in my Church; but my Church is only a part of the Church of Christ, which condemneth none and separateth from none. It was not the custom of the Primitive Church, in the Apostolic times, that, when one or two brethren came from another church, they were not permitted to speak or to exhort the brethren until they had sat down with them at the Lord's table; for our Lord Jesus Himself, wherever He went, spake in the synagogues; and in the Acts of the Apostles, Paul and Barnabas, though they were only known as brethren, went into the synagogues and exhorted. And I hold it to be contrary to the constitution of the Protestant Church, that any member or minister of one church, being in full communion with it, should not be admissible into full communion with another. A member, for instance, of the Church of England is in full communion with the Scotch Church, both in respect to Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is so by the Acts of the Assembly. I cannot tell you the express date of the Act, but it comes between the time of the Revolution, 1692, and the date of 1720. I cannot charge my memory with the exact date; but it is a short Act, setting forth that the member of another communion, coming into the bosom of the Church of Scotland, is admissible to all the ordinances, if his walk is according to godliness; for, as it is generally said, we ought rather to use diligence to draw them over to us, than we to go to them. These persons were members of the Church of Christ, walking in His commandments and ordinances blameless; nay, distinguished for acts and labours of love in their own churches; in fact, there was only one such; and another, though not admitted to membership, was under examination previous to communion. First, they were of blameless walk and conversation, and in full communion with the Church of Christ. Second, in private prayer

meetings, where they were accustomed to exercise the gift of utterance, I could discern nothing contrary to sound doctrine, but everything for edification, exhortation, and comfort. There was the sign of the unknown tongue, and prophesying for edification, exhortation, and comfort; and, beside these, there is no other outward and visible test to which they might be brought. Having these before me, I was still very much afraid of introducing it into the Church, and was exceedingly burdened in conscience for some weeks. Look at the condition in which I was placed. I had sat at the head of the Church, praying that these gifts might be poured out on the Church; believing in the Lord's faithfulness, and that I was praying the prayer of faith, and that He had poured out the gifts in the Church in answer to our prayers. Was I to disbelieve what in faith I had been praying for, and which we had all been praying for? When it came, I had every opportunity of proving it. I had put it to the proof according to the Word of God, and I found, so far as I was able to discern, that it is the thing written in the Scriptures, and into the faith of which we had been baptized. Having found this, I was in a great strait between two opinions, and much burdened. God knoweth for certain days, nay, even weeks, my burden I could disclose to no one. A great burden it was, for I felt it was my duty to act; and I feared, if I were to go seeking counsel of others, and any were to say, 'Do not introduce it into the Church,' then I should be putting myself into a strait between my obedience to the Lord and my inclination to follow the counsel of wise men. In this state I remained some time; and I need not tell the leadings of Providence, which led me, at length, to determine; but it was very much the testimony of my own heart. In the morning meeting the Spirit burst out in the mouth of that witness whom you examined yesterday; and, several times in one day, the voice of the Spirit was, that it was quenched and restrained in the Church. I felt this very burthensome to me, and this conviction came at once to my heart: It belongs to you to open the door; you have the power of the keys; it is you that are restraining and hindering it. I reflected on it all that day, and next morning I came to the Church. After prayers I rose up, and said in the midst of them all: 'I cannot any longer be a party to hinder that which I consider to be the voice of the Holy Ghost from being heard in the Church. I feel I have too long deferred, and I pray you to give heed while I read out these passages, as my authority and the commandment of the Lord concerning the prophets;' and I read, therefore, these passages, 1 Cor. xiv. 23: 'If therefore the whole Church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those who are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?

The Apostle was here writing of speaking with tongues, in contra-distinction to prophesying; that is to say, speaking nothing but the unknown tongue; for what should it profit unless there be an interpreter? He is not speaking of what we have, that which we have is one-fifth or one-tenth in tongue; and the rest in prophesying. He is taking the distinction between speaking with tongues and prophesying. No one in our Church could say the person speaking is mad, because he doth not utter, perhaps, more than two minutes or one minute in tongue, and then he begins to prophesy in English for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of all: the one is the sign of inspiration that it is the power of the Spirit; the other is the thing which the Spirit would give forth for the edification of the Church.

"Sometimes it comes forth without the sign, but, generally, it is otherwise; for I think I have observed in the church, when many are present who disbelieve, or doubt, or mock, the sign is given in great power; but it is otherwise ordered in a company of persons believing the calling of the prophet, when the sign is not given, but the word of prophesy comes out simply. But I have observed, if the word of prophesy is hard to be received, the sign is given, even in the company of those strong in the faith: yea, I have seen it occur more than once that the sign has been given, and then the word in English follows; and then the sign is again repeated. I have noticed that in this case something is added hard to be received, or, perhaps, a rebuke to some one present, or something hard for the will of the party to receive; for the Spirit speaketh to the conscience. Well, I read out this passage: 'But, if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all; and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest: and so, falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is among you of a truth.' Then it is said, 'When the whole Church cometh together into one place,' they may 'all prophesy, one by one;' and, it is added, 'Let the prophets speak, two or three, and let the others judge,' and discern the things which they prophesy, and try the Spirit that it is done by; whether the prophet, through carelessness or want of holiness, be overtaken of any temptation, even as the witness examined yesterday did declare before you all, without being questioned, in the honest purity and simplicity of his heart, that he once was made to rebuke me in a manner which he believed was not by the Spirit of God; and this he learned by another prophet's discerning; and after waiting on the Lord, at the end of two days, it was made manifest, agreeably to this, 'Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others discern;' and, further, 'If anything be revealed to another sitting by, let the first hold his

peace.' Now I beg your attention to this passage, as it bears much on the case attempted to be made out against me, and yet, not against me, but against the voice of the Spirit in the Church.

"And here let me say, they are not interruptions, though they are called interruptions, of the service of the Church; for, we are told, 'If anything be revealed to another sitting by, let the first hold his peace.' And if, by the Spirit, anything be revealed to any one sitting by, though I be engaged in praying,—though I be engaged in preaching,—I am required to hold my peace, because I might be preaching falsehood, which the Spirit of the Lord might wish to defend the congregation from. Jesus is the Head of the congregation, not I; I am only His deputy, and the prophets are His voice. You are very ignorant of the Old Testament, if you know not that the prophet is the voice of God to kings and to princes; he is the voice of Jesus to His Church; and if I be speaking anything contrary to the mind of Jesus, shall not He, the Head of the Church, have liberty by His prophets to tell the congregation so, and guard them from error? If I be praying in error, or in a wicked spirit—for a man may be erroneous in his prayers; a man may curse and blaspheme in his prayer; and, if I do so, shall not the Lord Jesus have power in His own Church, then and there, to make manifest the error, that the congregation be not poisoned thereby? If a father saw improper food put upon the plate of his child, which the child should not eat, would he not step in and take the morsel out of his mouth? And shall the Lord Jesus, the master of the house, not be permitted to step in, at any time, and prevent such food from being partaken of by the children whom He hath purchased with His own blood? He shall in my church. He shall in my church, so long as He honours me by permitting me to be the minister of it. Call it not interruption; ye speak it in ignorance,—ye understand it not, and you examine not into it,—and the Lord forgiveth it. Take heed lest your ignorance be not wilful. The complainants have mostly withdrawn their ears from it, and would not hear it; they would not put themselves to the pains of examining it, but would beat, with the high hand of a trust-deed, the minister of Jesus from his place, and the Lord Jesus from his place also."

Moderator.—"Order! I will not allow any one to say that we beat the Lord Jesus from his place. We hear Mr. Irving from a matter of tenderness and courtesy, and he must not use this language towards us."

Mr. Irving.—"The thing stated was a truth."

His Solicitor protested against the interruption.

Mr. Irving.—"I have spoken the truth, and nothing but the truth, and God knows it; and whether the truth should not be spoken, He

knoweth also; but be it, be it so. Well, then, I read this passage, and also the passage which concerneth the comely way in which women should prophesy and pray in the Church, which is thus written in 1 Cor. xi. 4–10: 'Every man praying or prophesying having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered. For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. . . . For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head, because of the angels.' The woman having power on her head is a sign of authority, because of the angels of the Church, in reference to their office. I know there has been a difference of opinion in this matter, and that the passage has been confronted with that passage in 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35: 'Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak,' &c.; and, another passage, in 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, to the same effect. Now, it has been said, we have gainsayed these passages, and that we have interpreted them in a way that would never have been thought of but for this which has occurred. Now, to say nothing of the old commentators, I give you, among the moderns, the opinion of Locke, that master of exact interpretation, though not of sound doctrine; yet he was the master of logic, which is the science of sound words. I also refer you to Scott, whom the whole evangelical body in England consider the pattern of commentators. I refer, also, to Brown, who is looked upon in Scotland, as Scott is in England. These three commentators have all judged of these passages as I have judged of them; namely, that the two latter refer to women speaking by their own power and strength, the former to women speaking by the power of the Holy Ghost; the one not to be permitted, the other not to be prevented. I have these three, than whom none stand higher in their respective schools. Locke in the Arminian school, Scott in the Evangelical school, and Brown, universally consulted in the Scottish churches; and all these interpret them as I have done. No one can say that we have strained the Scriptures to suit our purposes. Grotius, also, concurs in the same view, than whom no one, at the period of the Reformation, stood in such reputation among the remonstrants. And almost all the interpreters in the primitive Church held the same views, and the practice was almost invariably continued in the first ages of the Church, and may be traced till the time of Cyprian, when women, and even children, were accustomed to prophesy in the Church by the Holy Ghost; as

it is written in the Psalms, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise.' And Cyprian, who was Bishop of Carthage, thought it not beneath him to send the things spoken by children in the church, by the power of the Spirit, to the presbyteries of his diocese for their instruction. Now, having read these passages, therefore, I said to the people, 'I stand here before you, after my conscience has been burdened with it for weeks, and I can no longer forbid it, but do, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, permit that every one, who has received the gift of the Holy Ghost, and is moved by the Holy Ghost, shall have liberty to speak.'

"It pleased the Lord at that meeting to sanction this by His own approval; while I was reading, the Spirit of the Lord spoke in Mr. Taplin, who appeared yesterday as a witness, and said, 'Let them prophesy; but let it be under authority.' And at the same meeting, both Mrs. Cardale and Miss E. Cardale spoke in the Spirit, with tongues and prophesying, rejoicing at what had been done. Now, observe, according to the commandment of Jesus, I took to myself the privilege and responsibility of trying the prophets in private first, before permitting them to speak in the Church. I then gave to the Church the opportunity of fulfilling its duty; for it belongs not to the pastor merely, but to every man, to try the spirits; as it is written in Matthew, that our Lord, when speaking to His disciples in the mount, 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits.' And I say, therefore, it is the bounden duty of every one, when the minister puts forth any person before the congregation whom, having tried, he believeth to speak by the Spirit of God, to be on their guard, and beware of false prophets, and to try them. Moreover, Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, declares of some who in the last days should give heed to seducing spirits; and he warneth the Church against being ensnared by them. In like manner, John also, in his first catholic epistle, gives instruction to try spirits, whether they be of God; and gives the rule whereby they might be tried: 'Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus is come in the flesh, is not of God; and whosoever denieth this is Antichrist.'

"It was my duty, therefore, in obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, who ever ruleth all churches, and without whom any church is nothing but a synagogue of Satan, after trying the spirits, to put them forth to the people, that they might be tried by them. I put the prophets forth, at the morning exercises of the church; and I made it known to the people at prayer, in preaching, and in all ways; and invited the people to come and witness for themselves, and so the thing continued. I had not yet introduced it into the great congregation, permitting, I should suppose, four or five weeks for pro-

bation by the Church, and was still reluctant—for I erred on the side of reluctance; and seeing the spirit of many of the congregation, that they viewed with dislike and suspicion the whole subject. I waited, and it was not until silence was broken, in spite of me, that I spoke in the full congregation concerning the duty of its being then heard; and that day, after the speaking by which the congregation was thrown into a good deal of distress, I left my ordinary subject; for although it was attempted to be instructed in evidence yesterday that I set myself to discourse on one subject exclusively, and fed my people on that, my custom is to go regularly on, reading, preaching, and lecturing; but when the Church was tried in this way, I felt it my duty to take up the subject as it occurs in 1 Corinthians xiv., to prevent their souls being snared by Satan, and exhorted them to try the spirits according to the rules there laid down. I am ashamed and grieved to say that, from that time forward, several of the trustees entered not the church any more, notwithstanding all I could say, to hear and make trial whether it were the work of God or not, but set it down at once as a thing that ought not to be, and then left it. At the same time I appear here, not to complain against any one, but merely to state the truth to the court; that the Presbytery may be rightly informed, I am willing to substantiate these things, if the Presbytery desire it, from the evidence of the persons sworn.

"After the speaking was thus forced on the congregation, I felt I could no longer resist it; but in the evening I rose in my place, and said: 'If the worship of God should be again added to by those speaking with tongues and prophesying—for that is the right word, for it is the addition of an ordinance of prophesying—that they should understand it to be, not the word of man, but what I believed it to be, the Word of the Spirit of God,' and it was added to. From that time I felt it my duty, in obedience to the great Head of the Church, to take order that it should not be prevented, but encouraged; I claim the word *encouraged;* and I took all lawful means in the midst of the congregation to encourage it, and did so in obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, who had given this precious gift; not for nought, but for the edifying of the Church, which is His body; and I would think myself a most unworthy pastor, if, after receiving a gift, I did not lay it out to use, and encourage it to be used for the good of the people. I did it in obedience to Jesus, for the good of the flock; and if you want testimony, I shall pledge myself that I will produce five hundred men and women who shall come forward voluntarily, and testify in this court that there have been prophets raised up in our Church, whose words have been most edifying, yea, like a marrow and fatness to their souls. These five hundred persons, walking in the commandments and ordinance of

the Lord, will freely come forward on any day you will appoint, and declare that it hath been the most blessed thing to their souls, next to the ministry of the word and ordinance. And thus these were the steps I took for proving it—for all this comes under the head of probation—first, by myself, privately; then, not in public, but at the morning service, where all might have attended if they would; and then before all the congregation, and still it is continued, for the probation is not yet done. Many in the Church have not yet received full probation of it; and them I teach to wait on the Lord, and they shall receive full satisfaction; for I believe that the Lord tenderly regards the doubts of every one of his children: 'for the bruised reed will He not break, nor the smoking flax will He not quench;' and I believe there is not a weak member of Christ's Church waiting humbly and sincerely on Him, to whom He will not give conviction. I have never made it a test in my church, although, as a man preaching to his congregation, I have seen it my duty to declare the truth concerning it; for the Lord Jesus is very tender and very loving; and if a man will but turn aside, and see what this great thing is, he will be taught and fed of God. If there be any of my flock here present, let them take assurance, as a consolation to their souls. On the other hand, I believe, that if men turn away from, and harden themselves against it, it will prove to them that which Isaiah said it was sent for. It is only mentioned once in the Old Testament (speaking with tongues); and notice what the prophet Isaiah, in the 28th chapter, says it was sent for: 'Whom shall He teach knowledge? and whom shall He make to understand doctrine?' The high-minded?—No. Men who are proud in their own conceit?—No. Men who have enough, and want no more, saying, 'Having the ordinances and institutions of the Gospel, we have enough'?—No. Let the prophet answer: 'Them that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts;' babes; those that feel they need much; those that are weak, like a weaned child: for 'precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little.' As you speak to a child, so should it be; and so it is in prophesying, it is precept upon precept, line upon line, discourse not regularly built up. That is the reason why the learned of the world, those that are not babes, despise it; because it is not built up on argument or reasoning; not set forth in eloquent language, but in simple, pure, unadulterated milk; not cooked in the kitchen, but cooked in the body of the parent, fresh from the body of Jesus, by the Spirit of Jesus, coming down direct from Him, as milk of the children, which, indeed, the pastor may prepare, and serve out to the Church; and which, in dependence on my Master, I have endeavoured to prepare and serve

out, according to the taste of the people,—that is, as they can bear it. 'For with stammering lips;'—ah, who can bear that? 'and with men of other tongues will I speak to this people.' And He hath thus spoken in the midst of us.' Paul quotes this of the gift of tongues given to the Gentile Church; on the day of Pentecost it was sealed to the Gentile Church. Oh, and he says, 'This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest, and this is the refreshing; yet they would not hear.' Though it be rest and refreshing which is preached by it continually, yet they would not hear, and wherefore? 'that they may go and fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken.' There is another end of it, and it is for a rest to the weary, but for those who are not children, and think they are learned enough, and do not feel their lowly estate, to them it is given 'that they may go and fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken.' And it will prove so to this generation.

"Now ye have heard the method I took to prove that it was the thing contained in the Scriptures that we had received; first, the walk and conversation of the persons; second, by trying it from the words of Scripture, which says that the sign is the speaking with tongues, and the prophesy is for edification, exhortation, and comfort; third, by the consciousness of the Spirit within myself, bringing the conviction to my own heart; fourth, by submitting it to all the people. And I believe the effect of such probation is this,—that the snares of Satan have been detected, and that that which, if left alone, and not taken into the Church, Satan would have prevailed against, hath prevailed against Satan; for we ought to remember the prophets are not infallible: for they are directed to speak by two or three, that the rest may discern; and by bringing it before the Church the spirit in the prophets has discerned when the false prophets spoke, and when the flesh spoke; aye, and the very members of the Church, also, endued with the Holy Ghost, have been able to discern it. I believe it will always be so. Jesus hath not given up His place to the prophet any more than to the minister; and He hath let them know that prophecy is a fallible ordinance, as well as the ordinance of the ministry; and it is only by the congregation, and the prophets, and the minister abiding in Jesus in all obedience, in the light of Jesus as he is in the light, in the love of one another, and in the love of God: it is only thus that the minister can be preserved from erring, or the prophets, or the people; for the minister is not lord over the heritage, nor is the prophet the word of God to the heritage; but the lord of the heritage is Jesus, and the word of God to the heritage is this book; neither are the people rulers over the minister, to say, 'You shall not do this,' which the Lord requireth of him, nor the people rulers over the prophets, to say the

prophet shall not utter what the Lord giveth him to utter; but these, like the members of the body—the head, the lips, the hands, the feet—are all bound together in mutual respect to one another, and by their mutual respect and service to one another, they are all preserved in health and comfort, provided the life be in them all,—which is Jesus. Therefore I say, this method of proceeding God has shown to be good; for He hath shown my judgment not to be enough for the prophets; and even the congregation, on whom the Spirit of the Lord is, have detected what I could not detect; and it is not that any one office should be prevented from exercising their functions, or prophecy, or tongues, because they are not infallible, but that one and all, according to the orders of their Great Captain, in this book laid down, and in their various posts, united together in brotherly love and amity, might fulfil their kindly and dutiful offices one toward another. Thus the Church of God is built up and flourishes. If the people rise up against the minister, or the minister lord it over the people; or if either rises up against the prophets, and puts them down, then the golden cord of love is broken, and the Church must suffer. In every case, where love is preserved, it will be found that all are necessary, that all going on together will be preserved in unity, and make increase of the Church. So much for the second head.

"I make no apology for the length of time I have occupied, for eight hours have been allowed to the accusers, and I am the party most deeply interested in the case, and I trust you will bear with me in patience. The third thing to which I referred is the manner of ordering it in the Church; this I have in a great manner anticipated; but still, as the point of the complaint standeth here, I think it good to attend to it carefully. It is complained by the trustees of the National Scotch Church, in discharge of the duty imposed on them by the trust deed, and which is the foundation of their complaint; First, that I have allowed the worship of the church to be interrupted by persons speaking, who are neither ordained ministers nor licentiates of the Church of Scotland. Now, with respect to the ordering of it, which is here complained against as a violation of the trust deed, and a violation of the constitutions of the Church of Scotland, I can say with the Apostle Paul, when he went to Rome to his countrymen, 'That unto this day not only have I done nothing contrary to the word of God; but, men and brethren, I have done nothing against the people or customs of our fathers.'

"I lay it down as a solemn principle, that, as a minister of Christ, I am responsible to Him at every instant, in every act of my ministerial character and conduct, and owe to Him alone an undivided allegiance; and I say more, that every man is responsible to Jesus

at every instant of his life, and for every act of his life, and not to another, in an undivided allegiance. He is the head of every man, and upon this it is that the authority of conscience resteth; on this it is that toleration resteth; on this it is that all the privileges of man rest; that Jesus is the head of every man; and this is His inalienable prerogative. Nothing can come between it and a man; and every man must die for his duty to Jesus, rather than his duty to the king; he must die loyally, not rebelliously; but still he must rather die than disobey Jesus: and I say more, every man must gainsay his minister if he believe him to be in error; must gainsay his prophet, yea, every creature on the earth, if in error; must do it reverently, not rebelliously, but still do it, because Jesus is the head of every man; and every elder, and every minister and deacon of a church must do the same. And if any person or court, or the Pope of Rome, or any court in Christendom, come between a man, or a minister, and his master, and say, 'Before obeying Jesus, you must consult us,' be they called by what name they please, they are Antichrist. I say no Protestant Church hath ever done so. I deny the doctrine that was held forth yesterday, that it is needful for a minister to go to the General Assembly before he does his duty; I deny the doctrine that he can be required to go up to the General Assembly for authority to enable him to do that which he discerneth to be his duty."

Moderator.—"Let these words be taken down."

Mr. Irving.—"Aye, take them down, take them down. I repeat the words: *I deny it to be the doctrine of the Church of Scotland, that any minister is required to go up to the General Assembly for authority to do that which he discerneth to be his duty.* Ye are pledged to serve Jesus in your ordination vows. Ye are the ministers of Jesus and not ministers of an assembly. Ye are ministers of the word of God, and not ministers of the standards of the Church. I abhor the doctrine; it is of Antichrist; it is the essence of Antichrist,—it is Popery in all its horrors; it hath never been endured in this land; and I trust there is still sufficient reverence for the name of Jesus not to endure it. And if any man seeth anything to propose to the Church, in which they err or come short, in duty to the Church, and not in fear of the Church—for there is no authority in the Church above the authority of the minister—it is his duty to set this matter in order, and lay it before his brethren, saying, 'I have discovered we are in fault in this matter, and have set it in order, and do you likewise.' It is an easy way of appeasing a man's conscience to say, 'I must go to the General Assembly for authority to do this or that. It is Satan's trap to keep all things as they are; to prevent all things from returning to what they have been; and to

prevent them from coming forward to further perfection. But I lay it down, as a doctrine, that if I, as a minister of the Church, for instance, see evidence of the speedy coming of Christ to this world, to execute the judgments written in the Scriptures, and destroy Antichrist and establish His kingdom, and reign with His saints upon the earth, I am not to be prevented preaching it, because it is not in the standards. When were the standards made the measure of the liberty of preaching and of prophesying, which is the basis of all liberty? When was the liberty of preaching bound up within the limits of Twenty-six or Thirty-nine Articles? Never since the world began: never was it so, and never shall it be endured. What! is it meant to be asserted, that the decision of a council sitting in Westminster, in troublous times, was for ever to bind up the tongue of the preacher, to preach nothing but the things contained therein. I never subscribed these articles with that view; and if any other man hath so signed them, it is with a false view; and if with that view it is said, I did subscribe them, I say it is not so; and if any one say I must use them, I solemnly say I will not do so.

"As for the trust deed, was it ever heard that those who merely hold a trust over the walls of a building, should step in and take from the minister the right and privilege he hath, as a minister of Jesus, and the obedience he oweth unto Jesus? But this trust deed distinctly provideth for the contrary; namely: 'That all matters relating to the public worship of God, in the said church or chapel, and the administration of such religious rites and services as should be performed or observed therein, shall be left to the discretion of the minister for the time being, during such time as there shall be a minister.'

"Seeing that the ordinances and services performed or observed in that chapel are left to the discretion of the minister for the time being, the complainants must instruct the Presbytery that I have set up an ordinance contrary to the Church of Scotland; that the Church of Scotland has forbidden the ordinance of prophesying to be in the Church, by those who are moved by the Spirit of God, for the evidence which is on your table, is evidence to the effect that they speak by the Spirit of God. Ye are judges of the fact: it is a complaint on a point of fact; and the fact instructed is this, that they speak by the Spirit of God. But it is the fact you must bring to the constitution of the Church of Scotland; not your opinion of the fact. I charge the Presbytery before Him who is the judge of all, that they put aside their own opinion, whether these persons speak by the Spirit of God; for they have not heard or examined it, neither have they proved them by the text of Scripture.

You are not, in such circumstances, competent to question it; and for your souls, your precious souls' sake, ye must take the fact as judges, and show by the canons of the Church, that men are forbidden to speak in tongues, and prophesy by the constitution of the Church of Scotland; and ye shall search long before ye shall find it. I have not therefore suffered the public service, as charged against me, of the Church to be interrupted by persons not being ministers or licentiates of the Church of Scotland; I have not. I have permitted it to be interrupted by the Holy Ghost; and that according to the canons of Scripture, where we read, that: 'If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first keep silence.'

"2ndly. It is charged, that I have allowed the public worship of said National Scotch Church to be interrupted by persons speaking, who were neither members nor seat-holders. I have not. Your evidence shows I have not suffered the worship of God to be interrupted by persons not members or seat-holders, but by the person of the Holy Ghost speaking in the members of Jesus. And respecting the particular assignation, 'not being seat-holders,' they are members of the Church of Christ; and I know them to be so; and I never yet heard of seat-holders in Scripture, or in the constitution of the Church of Scotland. Nor did I ever hear of holding a seat in the Church of Scotland giving any right or privilege by its constitutions; but quite the contrary. For in the generality of the churches, the seats, or at least the greater part of them, are not held by the persons who sit in them; the church being divided amongst the heritors and tenants. It is the custom for the servants and tenants to sit in their landlord's seat indiscriminately; and I wish there was no such thing as seat-holding and seat-renting in churches; it is one of the most dishonourable things in the Protestant Church, which has never been known in the Church of Rome, and is not at this day. Yea, more, it is contrary to the law of the realm of Scotland, that seats should be private property; and in the case of Haddington church, it was ruled by the Lord Ordinary, that the lock of a pew should be taken off; and that, if not, any person might break it off, after the worship had begun.

"3rdly. I am charged with allowing females to speak in the Church. I have not allowed females to speak in the Church; but, believing that it was the Holy Ghost speaking in them, I have permitted it; but I never allowed any one, male or female, to speak of themselves, as the evidence bears; but, on the other hand, when others spoke, I caused them to be silenced, and even sent for aid to the police office, when I found by milder means they would not be restrained.

"4thly. It is charged, that other individuals, members of the congregation, were suffered by me to interrupt the public service on Sabbath and other days. I have not done so, as the evidence on the table will show; and that evidence adduced by the complainants themselves.

"5thly. It is charged, that I appointed set times for the suspension of the worship, in order to encourage and allow these interruptions. This needs a little explanation.

"When I saw it was my duty to take this ordinance into the Church, I then considered with myself what was the way to do it with the greatest tenderness to my flock, so as to cause the least anxiety and disturbance; for complaints immediately came to me from several persons, that they were unable to taste the good and profit of the other services, for fear of these interruptions. My anxiety, therefore, was to deal faithfully by the shepherd, and tenderly with the flock. I observed, therefore, what was the manner of the spirit in the morning meetings; and I found generally it was the manner of the spirit, when I, the pastor, had exhorted the people to add something to the exhortation, either to enforce it, if it were according to the mind of God, or to add to it; or graciously and gently to correct it, if it were incorrect. I also observed it was the way of the spirit not to do this generally, but in honour of the pastor; and that the spirits in the prophets acknowledged the office of the angel of the Church as standing for Jesus; and accordingly, I said, wishing to deal tenderly with the flock, let it begin with this order, that, after I have opened the chapter, and after I have preached, I will pause a little, so that then the prophets may have an opportunity of prophesying if the spirit should come upon them; but I never said that the prophets should not prophesy at any other time. I did this in tenderness to the people; and, feeling my way in a case where I had no guidance, I did it according to the best records of ecclesiastical antiquity; and I was at great pains to consult the best records; and I found Mosheim, in his most learned dissertation on Church history, declare to this effect: That in the first three ages of the Church, it was the custom, after the pastor had exhorted the people, for the congregation to rest, and the prophets prophesied by two or three; so that I walked in the ordinances of the Church of Christ. It is true, there are no directions to this effect in the standards of the Church of Scotland; but I never yet understood that the Book of Discipline, or the Confession of Faith in 1560, was intended to begin a new church, nor that it was intended to be said, we must get at the Scriptures only through these standards; and I know, and am very sure, that if the reformers had expected any such doctrine to be broached by us, their descendants, they would have

suffered their hands, aye, and their heads too, to be cut off, rather than have compiled and put forth these articles. There are, in fact, no instructions at all in the canons of the Church on the subject; but in the First Book of Discipline, there is an endeavour made to reconstitute the order of prophets, as laid down in 1 Cor. xiv., and this with the materials they then had. I state it for the information of the Presbytery, and also of the complainers, that so far was the Church of Scotland from preventing at the time any person from speaking in the Church but ordained ministers or licentiates, that there are express provisions laid down requiring every person who hath a gift to come forward at the request of the minister, on pain of proceedings before a civil magistrate; nay, more, men in whom is supposed to be any gift which might edify the Church must be charged by the ministers and elders to join in the session, and 'company of interpreters, to the end that the Kirk may judge whether they be able to serve to God's glory, and to the profit of the Kirk, in the vocation of ministers or not; and if they be found disobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and special graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them, provided the civil magistrate concur with the judgment and election of the Kirk. For no man may be permitted, as best pleaseth him, to live within the Kirk of God; for every man must be constrained by fraternal admonition and correction, to bestow his labours, when of the Kirk he is required, to the edification of others.' Now, this is in the First Book of Discipline, drawn up by our reformers, and which received the assent of Parliament, in the reign of James VI., and never has been abrogated to this day. The Westminster Articles of Confession were intended as a supplement to the others, but not to supersede them; and they were adopted chiefly for the sake of conformity with the Presbyterian churches in England, and nothing whatever therein contained is to prejudice what is found in these standards.

"So far, then, from being the rule of the Established Church, it is expressly provided that any member, even with an ordinary gift of teaching, if charged by the minister to join with the session to come forward, must obey, in order to see whether he may labour in the vocation of the ministry or not. The prophets, therefore, are one part of the ministry; and in permitting them to speak, I, in fact, did exactly obey this canon. I tried the gifts, and then planted them in the Church; and instead of acting contrary to the standards in so doing, I say I acted in the spirit of them. For it is thus written in the ninth head of the First Book of Discipline, entitled, 'For Prophesying or Interpreting the Scriptures.'

"'To the end that the Kirk of God may have a trial of men's knowledge, judgments, graces and utterances, as also such that have somewhat profited in God's word, may from time to time grow, in more full perfection, to serve the Kirk, as necessity shall require, it is most expedient that in every town where schools and repair of learned men are, there be one certain day in every week appointed to that exercise, which St. Paul calls prophesying, the order whereof is expressed by him in these words: "Let two or three prophets speak, and let the rest judge; but if any be revealed to him that sits by, let the former keep silence; ye may one by one prophesy, that all may learn, and all may receive consolation. And the spirit," that is the judgment, "of the prophets, is subject to the prophets." By which words of the Apostle it is evident that, in the Kirk of Corinth, when they did assemble for that purpose, some place of Scripture was read, upon the which one first gave his judgment, to the instruction and consolation of the auditors; after whom did another either confirm what the former had said, or added what he had omitted, or did gently correct, or explain more properly, where the whole verity was not revealed to the former. And in case things were hid from the one, and from the other, liberty was given for a third to speak his judgment to the edification of the Kirk: above which number of three (as appears) they passed not for avoiding of confusion. This exercise is a thing most necessary for the Kirk of God this day in Scotland. For thereby, as said is, shall the Kirk have judgment and knowledge of the graces, gifts and utterances of every man within their body. The simple, and such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study and to proceed in knowledge—the Kirk shall be edified. For this exercise must be patent to such as list to hear and learn; and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge to the comfort and consolation of the Kirk. But lest of this profitable exercise there arise debate and strife; curious, peregrine, and unprofitable questions are to be avoided. All interpretation disagreeing from the principles of our faith, repugning to charity, or that stands in plain contradiction with any other manifest place of Scripture, is to be rejected. The interpreter in this exercise may not take to himself the liberty of a public preacher (yea, although he be a minister appointed), but he must bind himself to his text, that he enter not in digression; or, in explaining common places, he may use no invective in that exercise, unless it be of sobriety, in confuting heresies: in exhortations or admonitions he must be short, that the time may be spent in opening the mind of the Holy Ghost in that place, following the sequel and dependence of the text, and observing such notes as may instruct and edify the auditory for avoiding of contention; neither may the interpreter, or

any in the assembly, move any question in open audience whereto himself is not able to give resolution without reasoning with one another; but every man ought to speak his own judgment to the edification of the Kirk.

"'If any be noted with curiosity of bringing in of strange doctrine, he must be admonished by the moderator, ministers, and elders, immediately after the interpretation is ended.

"'The whole ministers, a number of them that are of the assembly, ought to convene together; where examination should be had, how the persons that did interpret, did handle, and convey the matter (they themselves being removed) to each, must be given his censure; after the which, the person being called, the faults (if any notable be found) are noted, and the person gently admonished.

"'In that assembly are all questions and doubts, if any arise, resolved without any contention; the ministers of the parish kirks in landwart adjacent to every chief town, and the readers, if they have any gift of interpretation, within six miles, must concur and assist those that prophesy within the towns, to the end that they themselves may either learn, or others may either learn by them. And, moreover, men in whom is supposed to be any gift which might edify the Church, if they were well employed, must be charged by the ministers and elders to join themselves with the session and company of interpreters, to the end that the Kirk may judge whether they be able to serve to God's glory, and to the profit of the Kirk in the vocation of ministers or not; and if any be found disobedient and not willing to communicate the gifts and special graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them, provided that the civil magistrate concur with the judgment and election of the Kirk. For no man may be permitted, as best pleaseth him, to live within the Kirk of God; but every man must be constrained by fraternal admonition and correction, to bestow his labours, when of the Kirk he is required, to the edification of others. What day in the week is most convenient for that exercise, what books of Scripture shall be most profitable to read, we refer to the judgment of every particular kirk, we mean, to the wisdom of the ministers and elders.'

"If our Church has ruled that in a matter of ordinary gifts there should be liberty given to speak, can any one believe that if the gifts of the Holy Ghost had been in the Church they would not have ruled it for these extraordinary gifts also? Is it possible to believe the Reformed Church would have justified the complainers in this motion, or justify the Presbytery in coming to the decision, that I should be ejected from the National Scotch Church because I admitted persons, after they had been fully proved to have the gifts of the

Holy Ghost, to exercise those gifts in the congregation. Can any one say that it is contrary to the ordinances of the Reformed Churches of Scotland so to do? But if there were ordinances to this effect (which there are not), I would disobey them; if there were ordinances of the king to this effect, I would disobey them. Yea, I would disobey all ordinances, whether of the ecclesiastical or civil power, which commanded me not to do a thing which I believed the Lord Jesus commanded me to do; and the man who doth not so act in this matter is guilty of treason against the King of Heaven: and I would disobey any earthly king in this matter, but I would do it loyally, not rebelliously. I would say, 'Whether it be right I should obey man rather than God, judge ye;' and whether it be right in the sight of God to obey the great Head of the Church or His servants; the Head of the Church speaking in His word, or His servants speaking through any confession or canon of their drawing up, judge ye. And if any man thinks I have set my hand to anything contrary to that, I deny it. I tell that man I have not done it knowingly; and if unknowingly I have done it, I do here, before the Church of God, confess I have done wrong; for it never was given to a man to sign away his liberty of serving Jesus. It cannot be required of a man; no power on earth can require it. And if by any act of my life I have given away my power of serving Jesus, I confess I have done wrong, and when it is brought to my conscience I will renounce it; because I solemnly deny that there is any power on earth which can take away a man's power of serving Jesus, who bought him with His blood, who is King over all; who sitteth in the congregation of His saints as head, and raiseth the beggar from the dunghill to set him among princes, and who casts down princes from their thrones. But I have not done it; the Church of Scotland hath not required it; and if the Church of Scotland had, in an evil hour, in her fallibility (which none is so ready to confess as she is; for, in the preface to the first confession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, words nearly to the following effect are contained. I cannot, perhaps, quote the precise words, but I will answer for the substance: 'If any man do discover in these Articles anything which repudiates God's word or right reason, we crave him of his honour or of his kindness to inform us; and we promise that we will give him satisfaction out of the word of God and sound reason, or admit that we are wrong');—if, therefore, the Church of Scotland, in the exercise of that fallibility, which none were so ready to acknowledge as our reformers, standing up as they did against the infallibility of the Church of Rome, had framed any canon to prevent me as a minister of Christ from doing the thing which I have done in obedience to Christ, I would have felt

it my duty to disobey that canon, and have borne the consequences. I would not have waited for months or years the result of a slow process before the Church courts for authority so to do; for where in the mean time were my conscience; where were my Lord; where were the spiritual edification of my flock; where were the ordinance of prophesying? But the Church expecteth it of her ministers, that they should walk according to the ordinances of Christ, and fulfil their duty to Him; and in doing so I should have advised my brethren to do it, and would have taken counsel with them in the matter. Nay, I did take counsel with the brethren in the ministry in this matter, at least with two, than whom none stand higher in their respective churches. The Rev. D. Dow, minister of Irongray, in Scotland, than whom no man in that church stood in higher reputation, till he had received the gift of the Holy Ghost; but of whom I must now say, that he hath become a fool for Christ's sake. I wrote to him on the subject, and also communed with another, who stood in the very highest place in the English Church, before the evangelical body; and I asked them what they thought of this matter, and the deliverances I received from them answered exactly to the previous judgment of my own mind. At the same time I wrote to a clergyman of the Church of England, than whom none stood higher in his Church, but who is now also become a fool for Christ's sake, and received his judgment to the same effect; so that in one week I had three judgments concurring with my own opinion to the very letter. These I laid before the elders and deacons, in order to show them that I was not acting precipitately, but with the counsel of my brethren. And I do not say but that, if I had been a member of this Presbytery, which at that time I was not, I would have felt it my duty to lay it before them. Ah, surely I would; I would never have hid anything in my bosom which came from the Lord, and I knew it to be so; for while I was connected with this Presbytery, everything that was brought to me I brought into the Presbytery: but then I had been rejected by this Presbytery as a heretic; I had been publicly repudiated by them as a heretic, and branded with this stigma over the whole land, and I had none to consult with. I would have observed brotherly love, but I was under no authority to them, or to any Church court; for the General Assembly at their last meeting clearly laid it down that they could not exercise any rule beyond the kingdom of Scotland. It was ruled so by men on both sides the house; so that if I had been inclined to act the churchman, instead of the Christian minister; if I had been inclined to act the part of a minister of the Church of Scotland, and not the part of a minister of Christ; if I had been inclined to put myself forth as a trustee of the

standards of the Church of Scotland, and not as a minister of the living Word; even then I could not have done the thing required of me, namely, to apply to them to allow the speaking with tongues and prophesying in the congregation; but I would not, so there is an end of that kind of argument. I would not, because, when I felt the authority of my Lord in my conscience, it would have been an insult to Him to ask for more. There is no authority that can come between the angels of the Church and Him the Head. See ye, if it is ever written in the seven epistles of Christ to his Church, in the Revelations, or in the Word of God anywhere, that a minister is required to go to the Presbytery or synod before obeying the commands of Jesus. See ye if there be any instance in which it is not charged to the angel of the Church, if anything disorderly occurs in the Church; and I say, after long and painful study of the constitution of the Church of Scotland, and after long love, and ardent, to her constitution and discipline, and much active service for her sake, and after much delightful communion with her members, I will say to my younger brethren in the ministry here present, that it is not sound doctrine which teacheth that the Presbytery or the General Assembly, or any court, or any man, or bishop, or any pope, interveneth and interposeth their authority between a minister and the Lord Jesus Christ, who speaks to the minister directly, and the minister directly obeys Christ. The counsels of the Church are for settling the differences that arise, but are not intended to take away the free standing of a minister of Christ in the Church. I say it is the only sound doctrine that the ministers of Christ, and pastors of His people, stand directly responsible to Christ; all Presbyteries, synods, councils, creeds, canons, and confessions, notwithstanding. These, doubtless, have their use and place, but this is not within the present question.

"Now I have brought this third head to a close, namely, concerning the ruling of it. I deny every charge brought against me *seriatim;* and say it is not persons but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in the church. I do not say what the judgment of this Presbytery might be if they could say that these persons do not speak by the Holy Ghost. But this they cannot do. This is what I rest my case upon. This is the root of the matter. This is what I press on the conscience of the Presbytery; and it is laid before them out of the mouths of all the witnesses. The evidence is entirely to this effect; not one witness has witnessed to the contrary.

"I do not think it necessary to go into the institution of the Church of Scotland, to show my faithfulness to the Church since I came into this city; how many of the ordinances I found fallen down, and my

labours in building them up again; the office of deacon, the duty of the elders in visiting the sick of the flock, public baptism in the Church, the services before and after the holy communion, &c.; but I am not here to testify of myself, for if I did, my witness were not true. I am here to testify of another, even of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose name as Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, whose standing name of Godhead—for it is that which distinguisheth His name as God, implying that He hath a person of the Godhead to distribute—is denied by this complaint. And though the complainers shut their ears upon it, yet it is the truth, it is the burden of it; and it is, let me say, the guilt of it, and a heinous guilt it is. I believe this standing name of Godhead which Jesus hath, as Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, it is the purpose of this complaint to suppress in the Church, to prevent from being exercised in the Church. It is the purpose of this complaint to prevent the Lord Jesus from fulfilling His covenant of baptism to every member of the Church; it is the purpose of this complaint to prevent the Lord Jesus from speaking with His own voice in the Church.

"*Moderator:* Order! I will not allow this assertion. As long as Mr. Irving speaks to facts we will hear him; but when he imputes *intentions* to the complainers, I submit it is clearly disorderly.

"*Mr. Irving:* You do not understand what I mean. I mean that it is the animus of this document. Is it not the very intention of the whole complaint? I appeal to the court.

"*Moderator:* You have made severe personal charges, and I rule it is not competent so to go on.

"*Mr. Irving:* I ask the judgment of the court on this point, whether it is not the very intention of this deed, and whether I was arguing as to the persons, or as to the deed of complaint; and I was saying it is the very spirit of the complaint to prevent the voice of the Holy Ghost from being heard in the Church, which is the temple of the Holy Ghost; it is the spirit of the complaint to put it down, because it has the sign of the Holy Ghost upon it, which is speaking with tongues.

"*Mr. Mann* here interrupted the defender, and disavowed the intentions imputed to the trustees.

"*Mr. Irving:* I speak to this paper (the copy of the complaint), and I am perfectly in order. I have a good right to judge of this paper, and no man shall prevent me. Surely this Presbytery, to whom I appeal, will allow me to speak to my indictment.

"*Dr. Crombie:* I must say, Moderator, that I conceive Mr. Irving perfectly in order, although the words might have been qualified as to the effect of the complaint. Mr. Irving has explained that he

does not impute improper motives to the complainers; he means not the spirit of the complainers, but the spirit of the complaint.

"*Mr. Irving:* The tendency and effect of the complaint then, that is quite regular.

"*Moderator:* That is what I suggested.

"*Mr. Irving:* Well, I say, the tendency and effect of the complaint is to resist and hinder the voice of the Holy Ghost speaking in the church; and let me enumerate the points in the complaint again, and glad am I to have another opportunity of enumerating them. Well, then, the inevitable tendency of the complaint is to destroy the name of Jesus, as Baptizer, with the Holy Ghost, and by a verdict of a court, and with a canon of a church (and it makes no matter what court it is, for the highest of human authorities is but as the lowest, when compared with the dignity of Jesus), to take away from Him this name as Baptizer with the Holy Ghost; and to say that name, in its full property, and grace, and blessedness, and effects, belongeth not to Him. The tendency of the complaint is, to take away from every child of God, in the bosom of the National Scotch Church, the hope and the desire of having the baptism of the Holy Ghost given to them for the edification of the Church, according to the covenant of baptism. The tendency of the complaint is, to take away the liberty from that Church of having and exercising the gift of tongues and of prophecy; the grand ordinance which the apostle expressly says is for edification, exhortation, and comfort. The tendency and effect of the complaint is, to take away the speaking with tongues and prophesying, which is for the edification of the Church. The tendency of the complaint is, to take away the ordinance of the prophet from the Christian Church, which ordinance Jesus hath appointed to be in the Church always, and which would always have been in the Church, had men looked always to the ordinances of Jesus, instead of looking to human wisdom and traditions, and human system and human authority. The tendency of the complaint is, to take away from the Holy Ghost the liberty of speaking in the Church, His own temple, the temple of truth; and that because the thing spoken is accompanied with His own sign of speaking with tongues. It is the spirit and tendency of this complaint to take from a minister of Christ the dignity and responsibility which pertaineth to him as an officer of the Church of Christ, to rule and order his church in spiritual things, and to be the responsible deputy of Christ in all things pertaining to words and ordinances. It is the tendency and effect of this complaint to take from a minister of the Church of Scotland the liberty and privilege which belongs to him as a minister of Christ; which, though not given him by the Church of Scotland,

yet are guaranteed to him both by the canons of the land and the canons of the Church; which are given to him by Jesus, and are guaranteed to him by the powers, as well civil as ecclesiastical, so that no man shall let or hinder him therein. It is the tendency and effect of this complaint to put trustees (who have nothing to do but with the care of the building, that it be not diverted from its proper ends, which in this case has not been done; and I defy them, and all men, to show that I have contravened any ordinances of the Church of Scotland or of the Church of Christ) to exalt trustees over the minister, and to make him their bondman. And I warn you ministers, that if you do sanction such an interference with a man acting in the spirit in which I have acted; if you do wink at these proceedings, and not look them in the face, but give these men power to cast me and my flock—a flock of hundreds, and a congregation of thousands—out of that church which has been built, I will say, very much on the credit of my name; if you aid them in casting me out into the wide streets, you will do a thing for which the Lord will chastise you, not in higher matters only, but in this kind also in which you offend, namely, in those who have the secular care of the houses where you worship.* I have but one word to add as to the position in which I submit this matter to the Presbytery, because in this matter both parties have a right of judgment. With all reverence, therefore, and you must hear it with patience, for what I am going to say is not pleasing to flesh and blood, but I must exonerate my conscience; with all reverence, therefore, I say, I do not submit this case to the Presbytery, as a Presbytery of the Church of Scotland, having any jurisdiction over me; and ye will not ask it of me, because I have no right of appeal from this Presbytery to the Church of Scotland. I do not, therefore, submit it to this Presbytery as a Presbytery having any right of superintendence over me, for though I was once a member of your Presbytery, I went out from you of my own free will; and when I had so gone forth from you, because I saw you not acting as I judged according to the commandments of the Lord, ye did judge me, in my absence, a heretic on great points of faith; and then, at the sessions of our church, the church did by solemn act of the ruling elders withdraw itself from the Presbytery; and therefore we are in no respect under your jurisdiction. And although many questions have been put by you to the witnesses as to my doctrine, and ye, I believe, would not have done so if you had not supposed erroneously that you had

* This warning has been singularly and *literally* justified by the course of events since then.

jurisdiction over me, I, although I could have arrested it, yet being desirous that the truth should be fully known, and knowing the examination would throw some light on the question in hand, I suffered it to go on; although I felt that in it the Presbytery did trespass very far on my rights, as a party in this case; and I will say also, did very much forget the calmness and disinterestedness of judges; for never did I hear, or any one else, in any court, witnesses so questioned and cross-questioned—no, not even where evidence of the most suspicious kind is wont to be brought forward—as they were here cross-questioned by the Presbytery; and that, too, even in the most solemn matters. And the witnesses being voluntary, and under no compulsion, were subjected to a most unusual process of vexatious scrutiny.

"*Mr. Maclean:* Order! I say, Moderator, the questions were not put in an improper manner. They were questions quite in order, and for sifting the truth in respect to this matter; although the manner may have been that of firmness and decision, there was no improper feeling.

"*The Moderator* rose to defend the Presbytery, and thought they had not departed from gravity in cross-examining the witnesses. There was no parallel between them and civil judges, for the Presbytery were both prosecutors and judges; and therefore, in duty to the Church, they were bound to put all questions needful to elucidate the truth.

"*Mr. Irving:* It stands in evidence that the witnesses were examined as to my doctrine, and as to matters far away from the matter in hand. I can only say I never authorised the Presbytery to inquire into my doctrine. Nay, I say more; I never could submit my doctrines to you as a court of Christ; for by refusing all reference to the Holy Scriptures, ye have put yourselves beyond this privilege. What would any one say of a civil court in Britain which would refuse an appeal to the laws of the realm? Would not such a court, sitting in name of the king, who would so despise the laws, be guilty of rebellion against the king, whose office it is to administer the laws impartially to all his subjects? So say I, if a court, calling itself the court of Christ, says it will not allow appeal to lie open to the Scriptures, which are the statutes of our king, as was ruled by this Presbytery in deliberate judgment yesterday, and that judgment protested against, then that court ceaseth to be a court of Christ; and I cannot retract or qualify my assertion that, by such proceeding, this Presbytery hath become only a court of Antichrist.

"*Mr. Maclean* rose to order, and said, It is quite competent to the reverend gentleman to protest against our decision on that point,

but not to impugn the court; but to say that we are not a court of Christ, but a court of Antichrist, I will never, never submit to it. I hold my judgment on the matter to be as good as that of the Rev. E. Irving, and maintain that he is not competent to do anything but to enter a protest against us.

"*Mr. Irving:* I have said the word, and do not retract it, because it is the truth. I said it, I assure you, Sir, in sorrow; I grieve over it, I lament over it in faithfulness. I am bound to say the Presbytery have most grievously erred in this matter; and, until repentance be shown by them for this sin, the Lord is angry with them. I cannot, therefore, submit this matter to the Presbytery, as a Presbytery, but merely as referees. I do not deny that the Presbytery when it meets is, or at least ought to be, constituted in Christ, the Head of the Church, and ought to be conducted by entire regard to the teaching of the Holy Ghost. But this Presbytery have virtually denied this, and have cut themselves off from the fountain of justice; they have cast themselves from all judgment on the basis of Scripture, which is the only standard of faith and practice, as declared by the very standards of our Church; and they cannot give righteous judgment in this cause until they repent of that which was done yesterday, in cutting themselves off from all appeal to this Book, and expunge their decision on this point from the records; and not only not prevent, but gladly permit, in all causes that come before them, reference to be made to the Holy Scriptures. For how would I be a good magistrate of the king, if, when parties came before me with any case to be adjudged, and those parties were referring to the statutes of the land, I should say, you ought not to refer to the statutes of the king, but to some antique customs, or some of the new-come notions,—some of the notions lately come up in this part of the country—which we have ruled among ourselves? At our Quarter Sessions if a man should come up before a magistrate, and should be accused of any matter, and it should be found out and showed that the statutes of the realm applied to the very point, but that they had been long neglected, and were lying in desuetude, surely you would judge him by the statute so adduced. If that court were to say, No, we cannot permit any such appeal, would you say they were fulfilling their office justly? So I say you ought to encourage appeals to the Word of God, because it is the only rule of faith and of practice. It is the thing which is imposed on every baptized person, and as such it is obligatory on you. Is it not the custom with you, and with every other minister of our Church, to impose it on every baptized person in these very words? Do you not oblige every person who comes to be baptized to declare that

these Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice, whereof an excellent summary is contained in the Confession of Faith, and in the shorter and longer catechisms? Yes, these are the words which are imposed on every baptized person. I have imposed them on every person I have baptized, except occasionally I may have forgotten it; and it is the constant custom to impose them on every baptized person. The Scriptures are laid on every parent as the only rule of faith and practice. You are bound by this obligation, whether as fathers or as ministers: and yet, now when I come into your court, and submit to you a cause, a most solemn cause, a most momentous cause, a most ponderous cause, the like of which hath not been agitated in Christendom for many centuries, a cause affecting the honour of the Holy Ghost, and His work in the Church, which is His temple; a cause touching the Holy of Holies, and not the skirts of the tabernacle; ye, when I come before you with this cause, refuse all proof of such work from the Scriptures, and say, We will not rule our practice by the Word of God.

"*Mr. Irving*, on being called to order, said in explanation, I was only saying that, in the practice of this court, there was never such a solemn subject before it. Is it not the naked fact that you did prevent me from appealing to the Scriptures? Am I to be held in disorder for speaking the plain and naked truth?

"*The Moderator* denied the analogy drawn between civil courts and ecclesiastical courts, and disclaimed the inference drawn by Mr. Irving from their conduct, that they had interdicted him from appealing to the Scriptures. What are the laws of a kingdom, but the will of the king constructed by the nation? The standards of our Church, in like manner, were held to be the will of the King of Zion, as declared by our Church; and therefore we are in order when we insist that the rev. defender shall plead to the will of the king, as declared in the standards of our Church. The rev. defender must show that he is acting according to his ordination vows in this matter. He has taken a larger range, however, and gone into irrelevant matters. We have borne with him by courtesy and in tenderness; but I will not compromise the dignity of the court, and permit him to use epithets which I think are abusive.

"*Mr. Irving:* I speak at this bar as a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a minister of His word which the Lord has given me to keep and to minister; and as a maintainer of the paramount authority of His word; and I say again, that dishonour of the most flagrant nature hath been done to the Word of God in these proceedings, by preventing an appeal to it; and if I were not to lift up my voice against it, the very stones out of the wall, and the beams out of the

timber, would cry out. What! if I am not to appeal to the facts which have actually taken place in this court, which have been ruled in this court by the Presbytery in this matter, I will sit down and speak no more. For I will not, I cannot, be prevented by the court. There is a right above every court, and there is one Head over every court. It has been endeavoured to prevent me from alluding to the things which were ruled in this court, to take away from me the only line of defence which, as a minister of the Word of God, I could have taken. Sir, I cannot but appeal from the course that has been adopted towards me, since I was prohibited by a solemn decision of the court from appealing to the only authority on the subject, which is the Word of God; for there is not a line nor a word in the standards of the Church which directly takes up the subject of the gift of the Holy Ghost. There is not a word concerning speaking with tongues and prophesying in the standards of the Church of Scotland. There is not a word within the whole compass of the Church canons to carry an appeal to; and I say it is a mere hoodwinking of a man, after you have shut my mouth on this important part of my case, to say that my judgment was not taken away by your decision. Find me in the standards of the Church anything to appeal to; ye cannot.

"*Mr. Mann* here rose, with a call of Order.

"*Mr. Irving:* If I am to be interrupted thus, I will sit down. I wish to act reverently towards my brethren, but I must be more reverent to the Lord Jesus Christ; God knows I am acting as a minister of His word. Well, I say, I submit the matter to this Presbytery as to a number of men endowed with conscience — with the conscience and discernment of truth; and who are beholden to exercise their conscientious discernment for the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Head of this court, and the head of every man, and who are beholden to judge all things according to the law of Jesus Christ, which is the law of this court, the law of every man; and I say that this Presbytery are called upon before the Lord Jesus Christ to see and ascertain whether that thing I have declared to them upon the veracity of a minister, which is substantiated by the testimony on their table, given by witnesses yesterday, all of their own selection, and which I will pledge myself to authenticate farther by the testimony of not less than five hundred persons, of unblemished life and sound faith, that it is the work of the Holy Ghost, speaking with tongues and prophesying. And as all the witnesses have borne a uniform testimony to it as the work of the Holy Ghost, the Presbytery cannot, they may not, before God, before the Lord Jesus Christ, and before all these witnesses, shut their eyes wilfully against such

testimony in this matter; or if they do, they will have to stand at a bar where they cannot evade the force of conscience and the deep responsibility they now take on themselves, where there is no shutting of eyes, but where everything shall be disclosed. It is instructed before you (surely the Presbytery will not shut its eyes to the evidence on the table) that it is by the Holy Ghost that these persons speak. There is no civil court whatever that would refuse to receive the evidence lying on your table; and you may not as members of a Christian Church, you may not as ministers and elders, you may not as honest men, turn aside from the matter of fact that has been certified to you, and say, We will leave that matter in the background; we will not consider it at all; we will go simply by the canons of the Church of Scotland, and see what they say on the subject. They say nothing on it, seeing they could say nothing, seeing there was no such thing in being. There is nothing of the kind mentioned in the Confession of Faith; and I ask you with what conscience you can turn from the plain evidence that it is the Holy Ghost speaking in the Church, and rest yourselves on nothing but points of formality. I say, go to nothing to make up your judgment, for even from the Holy Scripture ye may not do it; you may not do it, you cannot do it if you fear the living God; you cannot do it if you respect men; you cannot do it if you respect your children; you cannot do it if you respect truth and justice; you cannot do it if you respect the Head of the Church, if you acknowledge the authority of the Lord Jesus; you cannot do it if you have any reverence for the Holy Ghost. And if you resolve so to do, which may the Lord forbid, I shall appear at the bar of the Great Judge as a witness against you, that I did here this day for four or five hours contend, no irrelevant matter, but contend the very matter in question,—that we have received the gift of the Holy Ghost; that we have ordered it according to the Word of God, and that it ought not to be cast out of the Church. I shall appear at that bar where all secrets shall be revealed, and evidence that you have shut your eyes against this thing, notwithstanding all the evidence that could be adduced; yea, though I have offered to substantiate it by five hundred persons of unblemished reputation, wh would willingly come forward and testify to this work being of the Holy Ghost, before this court, or any diet you may appoint. Ah, if ye will turn aside from that, and say, No, there are no customs or authority in the canons of the Church for it, and we will not consider whether the thing is in Scripture or not; if ye will not consider it in the only true light—the light of the Scripture—I tell you, ye shall be withered in your churches; I tell you ye will be visited with heavy retribution; I tell you the waters

in your cisterns shall be dried up; I tell you ye shall have no pastures in which to feed your flocks; I tell you your flocks shall pine away for hunger and shall die. Moreover, I stand here rejoicing, not on your account truly, but oh, I rejoice that I am counted worthy to suffer shame and reproach for this testimony! If ye will, as members of a Christian court, give your decision against me, while I deplore it on your account and that of the complainers, I rejoice, yea, I rejoice exceedingly, for my own sake, and for the sake of my flock; yea, I will call on them to rejoice, and to be exceeding glad, that I am counted worthy to suffer for the Lord's sake. And I will say of this Presbytery, that it took away my judgment; that it thrust away my judgment, that it would not examine into the merits of the case; that it set aside the testimony of honest men,—of an elder, and a deacon, and a prophet, and a minister of Christ; and, judging against all the evidence, ye have thrust aside their testimony, and have merely said, Is there any authority for this in the Church of Scotland? Oh, it is a small matter to be cast out of a house; it is a small matter this, seeing we have 'a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;' and are here but as pilgrims and sojourners on the earth, as all our fathers were. The Lord, we do not doubt, will provide us another; and if not, we are no worse off than He who was accustomed to preach the glad tidings of the kingdom by the sea of Galilee; who taught His flock in the fields and desert places of Judea, and on the Mount of Olives. We can take ourselves to the fields and open places around this great city, and there I can feed my flock; we cannot be worse off than He who, to seek retirement, went up into a desert mountain to pray, and who had not where to lay His head: and when they all went to their several homes, He went to the Mount of Olives during the night to sleep there. We are not worse off than He. Oh, it is a small matter to be turned out of our church! He will soon recompense us with 'a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.' The day is near at hand when the heavens shall be opened, and He, the Son of Man, shall appear in the clouds, with power and great glory, and when His saints shall be taken to Him, to dwell before His throne. It is near at hand, we know; that day is near at hand, and we know this voice of the Holy Ghost has been sent to His Church to be the witness to prepare all men for His speedy coming, by a voice that could not be doubted, which the Lord has been graciously pleased to send amongst us in answer to our prayer. When ye had set aside the voice of testimony, which I have lifted up for the last five or six years, to the coming of Jesus, and counted it as a fable, then the Lord, in order that ye might not perish, sent His own voice, as in the

old time, to prepare you for His coming; and poured out His Spirit to lead you to Jesus, in order that ye might receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost; to call on you to receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost, through which alone you can be saved in that day when the Lord's judgments shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire; when there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the earth distress and perplexity of nations as is now begun. And when Antichrist, that man of sin, shall be revealed, and shall be destroyed with judgment; and when only those shall be preserved from the persecutions of Antichrist who have an anointing from the Holy One. When we know these things, it is a small matter to be cast out of the Church, because we know that house, that throne of glory, that temple in which God dwells, shall be prepared—shall soon be prepared—for us; when we know that in our time—yea, even in our time—He will come with all His saints to execute vengeance upon all them who fear not God, and obey not the Gospel of Christ. But it is a most momentous thing for you, who have been thus betrayed into the snare of Satan, to bring up a complaint against the Holy Ghost, and from which awful responsibility I pray God your souls may be delivered. A blessed thing will it be for you if you give heed, and turn; but if ye will not turn, and yet not having examined the thing for yourselves, ye will give judgment against it, it will be a burdensome thing to you. It will be a burdensome thing to this Presbytery if it shall give judgment against that which hath been instructed before them to be the work of the Holy Ghost; and which none of them can say, on their own conscience or discernment, not to be the Holy Ghost, since they have not come to witness it, they have not attempted to prove it. Ah, it will be a burdensome thing, not to this Presbytery alone, but to this city also, if ye shut the only church in it, yea, the only church in this kingdom, in which the voice of the Holy Ghost is heard! Think you, O men, if it should be the Holy Ghost, what ye are doing! Consider the possibility of it, and be not rash; consider the possibility of the evidence being true, of our averments being right, and see what ye are doing. Ah, I tell you, it will be an onerous day for this city and this kingdom, in the which ye do with a stout heart and high hand, and without examination or consideration, upon any grounds, upon any authority, even though you had the commandment of the king himself, shut up that house in which the voice of the Holy Ghost is heard, that house in which alone it is heard. Pause—pause—pause, and reflect. Ye are going to set yourselves to the most terrible work to which a Presbytery ever set its hand. I must say, in honesty, I do not see everywhere that spirit prevailing (it may prevail in some of you, I judge no man),

but I do not see that spirit prevailing of looking at the act ye are about to do in that solemn magnitude in which it truly standeth before the Judge of all. I beseech you to pause, pause for the sake of the complainers, if not for your own sakes; pause for the sake of this city; pause for the sake of this land. Be wise men; come and hear for yourselves. The church is open every morning; the Lord is gracious almost every morning to speak to us by His Spirit. The church is open many times in the week, and the Lord is gracious to us, and speaks through His servants very often. Ah, be not hard-hearted, be not proud of mind; remember ye are but men. Remember, this work of the Spirit, this speaking with tongues, is, indeed, for rest and refreshing to the weary; but it is also for the stumbling, and snaring, and taking of the proud and high-minded. Remember that it is to teach wisdom to those only who are weaned from the breasts, and have the spirit of little children. If ye be like those who are weaned from the breasts, and have in you the spirit of little children, ye will beware, and learn; but if ye have the spirit of strong men, and think your own wisdom sufficient, believing that in the Church there is enough, or in the traditions of the Church there is enough, ye will plunge headlong into the wrath of God. I have no doubt in saying it, and I would be an unfaithful man, pleading not my cause, but the cause of God, the cause of Christ, the cause of the Holy Ghost, in this Presbytery (for it is not the cause of a man; no, man has no charge against me — I stand unimpeached, unblemished before them), did I not say it. It is only this interruption, this new thing (for it is not an interruption), that hath occurred, which is instructed by the evidence to be the voice of the Holy Ghost, the speaking with tongues and prophesying, which I have declared to be the same, which hath given offence. And I sit down, solemnly declaring before you all, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, on the faith of a minister of Christ, that I believe it to be the work of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the Church, for the warning of the world, and for preventing men from running headlong into the arms of Antichrist, and for pointing out that condition of Babylonish confusion into which the churches are come; for we all lament with one accord, and must acknowledge that we have surely departed from what we were originally as a Church, and how could the Lord show what the Church should be, but by restoring those gifts which she had at the beginning. What can reconstitute the Church of God, but that which constituted it at the first? What can deliver the captive from the bondage of the flesh, but that God who called Abraham from his native land? That God is

now come in the person of the Holy Ghost, to deliver His Church from the bondage of Egypt, from the bondage of the flesh, in which she is.

One word more, and I conclude. I do solemnly declare (it is the faith of a Christian, and I mean no offence), but I do solemnly declare my belief that the Protestant Churches are in the state of Babylon as truly as is the Roman Church. And I do separate myself, and my flock standing in me, from that Babylonish confederacy, and stand in the Holy Ghost, and under the great Head of, the Church, waiting for His appearing, who shall come out of Zion a Deliverer, constituting no schism; but, as a minister believing his Lord is soon to appear, desiring and praying that his Church may, by the baptism with the Holy Ghost, and with fire, be made meet for His appearing. And with this hope and prospect, I still have great love for each of you, and desire you to know the same, and entreat you to come out from the Babylonish mixture, to come out of all carnal ordinances, from all human authority repressing you, and putting you in bondage to man's devices, and preventing you from entering the promised land of the Spirit. I entreat you to set up the Holy Scriptures as the only basis of faith and practice, to look as ministers, and to look as people, to them alone; and I know this, that if you throw the Bible aside, you will not look to much else that is good. You may talk about standards as you please, but I know there will be little reading of the standards or other good books, if there be not much reading of the Scriptures. Therefore I entreat you to put the standards on their own basis, and every moment to walk before the Lord in His commandments. Cry to the Lord, and repent of worldliness; turn to the Lord, and call on Him to lead you into the true faith, and to baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and the Lord will soon teach you and bless you. What I say to the Presbytery, I say also to you all; and I would further urge you, in doing so, not to fear but that in the day of His appearing the Lord will spread His mantle over you, and hide you in the secret of His pavilion, and give you for ever reverently to inquire for, and to know Him in His holy place. Amen and Amen."

This defence was followed by a speech from Mr. Mann, the representative of the trustees, after which the Presbytery adjourned for a week.

"On Wednesday the Presbytery met; and after the court had been opened in the usual form, the reverend Moderator rose, and said, that, 'as there was no appeal from the decision of the court, the Presbytery had come to the determination that they would permit Mr. Irving to make any observations he might think fit to make in reply to Mr. Mann's remarks, provided he would keep himself entirely to the matter to which Mr. Mann had adverted.'

"Mr. Irving then rose, and after a short pause, which he devoted to prayer, said: In order that I may aid my memory, and walk strictly by the rule which the court has laid down, I hold in my hand the report of the speech made on Friday, on behalf of the trustees (of which I did not take notes), as it is reported in the *Record* newspaper; and I will endeavour, by the help of my memory, and of this report, however imperfect, to keep within the proper limits; and if in any thing I may travel out of them, I desire to be called by you or the opposite party to order. Nevertheless, you will allow me the privilege of replying in such a manner as that I may set forth a full and fair answer, according to the convictions of my own mind, to the things which were alleged in the speech of the gentleman who appeared on the other side. The first thing of importance which he stated was, that 'He did not consider himself called upon to make any reply to the unseemly and untimely denunciations with which I attempted to stem the course of justice.' To this I reply, I did not attempt to stem the course of justice by anything which I spoke, but I sought to open the channels for the stream of justice to flow freely; and because I believe that the present question before the Presbytery amounteth to this: Whether the outbreakings of the latter-day glory shall be quenched or permitted to proceed in the churches of Scotland and of England, I was at pains to lay before you the awful consequences involved in this issue; being truly desirous to save my brethren and my country from the wrath of God, which will come upon all who stand in the way of His gracious purposes. For I do certainly foresee that if you, as a Presbytery having power given to you in this matter, should decide on any ground earthly, that this, which is by the evidence on your table sworn, and which I solemnly declare to be the voice of God speaking again in His Church, shall now be hindered and put to silence, the end of it shall be great, and heavy judgments of the Lord on all those who have a hand in opposing His work; yea, and upon the Church itself, if the Church shall take part in these proceedings, if she do not enter her solemn protest against them, and deliver her soul from them altogether. It was not surely to stem the course of justice, but to lay open before your eyes what I believe to be

involved in your decision, that I did not hesitate to put these things forth, not in the way of denunciation (for who am I that I should judge or denounce any man?), but as the convictions of my faith: 'I believed, and therefore have I spoken,' as the Holy Ghost saith, in reference to the Lord (Psalm cxv.), which the Apostle also taketh to himself (2 Cor. iv. 13). I therefore beseech the Presbytery not to be carried away by this misrepresentation, as if I had taken upon me God's seat of judgment, and spoken from that seat, in order to stem the course of justice on earth. I hope the word was spoken unadvisedly, and not with evil design; yet if it had weight with any of the judges, let them be careful to put it away. The fearful things which I spake were not intended to stem the course of justice, but to let the judges know what depended on the issue of the question before them. And most solemnly do I again, before this court, declare my faith to be, that like as the Man of Sorrows, because of His humiliation, and desertion of all the people, was rejected and crucified by the Jews, whereby they brought down upon their nation all those consuming judgments under which they still lie oppressed, and from which they shall not be recovered till they look on Him whom they pierced, and mourn over their sin; so is this Presbytery now brought into the peril of rejecting the small and slender beginnings of the Holy Ghost's work, because of the humble form in which it hath appeared, as a few droppings before the abundant latter rain; into which snare if you fall, then, while I believe that the Lord's work will not be hindered by you or by all men, I further believe that, because you will not further it, but fight against it, you will bring down upon your heads, not the judgment of the Jewish Church, which can be forgiven, because they sinned against the Son of Man, but the judgment of the Gentile Church, which cannot be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come, because it is done against the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of the Father, which is now revealed in its first fruits, and standeth before you, the ministers of Jesus, to be discerned and encouraged, not to be overlooked and quenched, so far as your influence extends.

"The next thing spoken in reply was, That the subject matter before the Presbytery was not of doctrine, but of discipline. But, brethren, I aver, and you should know well, that discipline without doctrine is nothing but legal constraint and absolute tyranny,—a thing unknown in the Christian Church. Discipline is not a thing which can be considered apart; being in truth nothing else than the labour of the vine-dresser, when the vine is putting forth exuberant leaves and branches, which hinder the fruit from being perfected; a labour, surely, which presupposeth life in the vine, which life cometh

in the Church from sound and fruitful doctrine? Discipline, apart from doctrine, hath no grace or love to rest upon, and turneth to severity. For herein a court of the Church differeth from a court of law, in that it ruleth everything not according to the letter of the statute, but according to the spirit of charity; and if she findeth her children in error in any matter, the Church treateth with the conscience, not to destroy, but to save; to pluck out the root of bitterness, and set the heart right with God, with our neighbour, with the Church; to indoctrinate him in the mind of Jesus; to deal lovingly and gently with him, for whom Christ died; to open upon him the flood-gates of the gospel, and hold forth to his view the holiness, the love, and the salvation against which sin doth blind the eye and harden the heart. So that, supposing we were even to grant the allegation that it were a mere question of discipline, this Presbytery cannot treat it rightly, unless it inquire into the doctrine which the discipline doth order and regulate; and if we be found of you to have erred in anything, teach us the true doctrine, and we will promise to walk therein, according to the wholesome discipline of love. But I deny the averment, that it is a question of discipline, and not of doctrine; for if these be the manifestations of the Holy Ghost, what court under heaven would dare to interpose and say, they must not be suffered to proceed? Tell me if that body does exist on the face of the earth which would dare to rule it so, if they believe the work to be of the Holy Ghost. Surely not in the Christian Church doth such a body exist; therefore the decision must entirely depend on this: — whether it be of the Holy Ghost, or whether it be not of the Holy Ghost. For if it be, who dare gainsay it? Will any one say, if it be of the Holy Ghost, that any rule of discipline or statute of the Church, supposing the statutes were sevenfold strong, instead of being none at all — for on this subject the statutes of the Church of Scotland are entirely silent, — will any one dare to say, that, if it be the voice of the Holy Ghost, all laws and statutes in which, during the days of her ignorance, the Church might have sought to defend herself against the entering in of the voice of the Spirit of God, should be allowed to keep Him out? And is it possible that this Presbytery should shuffle off the burden of the issue, and act upon the assertion made, that it is not the matter of doctrine which is to be entered into, the more when the evidence upon the table is unanimous to this point, that it is the voice of the Holy Ghost? And with such evidence upon your table, and none other, will they say that you should not go into the question, but decide on the matter according to an arbitrary rule, when, in point of fact, there is no such rule in existence? Verily, if the Presbytery should do so, it would make void all the laws

of evidence, and convert witness-bearing into an idle formality, if it presumes to judge away from the evidence before it. But I hope better things of this body of ministers and elders, than that they will fall into the trap laid for them, of hiding the matter of fact in evidence before them from their eyes, of shunning the question of doctrine, and converting this weightiest of all questions into a mere matter of form. I know that you consider yourselves constituted under the Holy Ghost; and when you pray to be directed under Christ by the Holy Ghost, you are not putting up prayers in hypocrisy, but in sincerity; and being so, when it is on the table in evidence, brought by the accusing party, that it is the work of the Holy Ghost, this Presbytery, constituted under the Holy Ghost, will surely never set such evidence to a side, and refuse to expiscate the truth of the matter, either to justify before the world the Holy Ghost's work, or else to expose the fallacious pretence thereto; and so protect the dignity and sanctity of that name in which you believe that you sit constituted.

"But to return to the course holden by the other party; taking it up as a question of discipline, the gentleman who was the mouth of the trustees set forth to you, that 'the subject matter before the Presbytery was not the question of the doctrine, it was a question of discipline; that being the case, would he not be right in referring to the discipline of the Church of Scotland, as set out in her own standards? Because he did not go to the word of God, to find out what was not in the word of God, was he to be told that he refused to appeal to the word of God? Certainly not.' In reply to this, I say that any man who will go into the standards of the Church as if they stood upon a basis of their own, and had an authority in themselves, he doth thrust the word of God to the ground, and trample it under his feet. Standards, in their own place, I respect as a testimony against error, lifted up by one generation, not to prevent another generation from standing up in the same liberty of testifying for what our fathers testified, to add to, or take away from, their testimony according as the Spirit in the Church may make the truth more manifest, or array it in better forms against the enemy. I maintain that if any man will go into the standards of any Church, be they Canons of the Council of Trent, the Articles of Pope Pius the Fourth, the Articles of the Church of England and her Canons of different reigns; or be they the Articles of the Church of Scotland, her Books of Discipline, or the conclusions of the Westminster Assembly: be they what they please, and presume to put them forth as having the weight of a feather in themselves, until they be confirmed by the Holy Scriptures, he doth in so doing plant his hand upon the throne of God; and as Amalek was smitten

by Jehovah for that sin, so God will have war with him for ever. For what is the throne of God? Is it not His word, his indefeasible, immutable word, his ever-to-be-revered word; every jot and tittle of which is most holy, most awfully holy, and heaven and earth shall pass away, but it shall not pass away?

"But let us come to the facts, and wrestle with them on their own ground. And the fact is this: that there is not one word in the standards against the thing which I have done; I know very well where the minds of those who think differently take refuge; in the clause pointed out in the forms of Church government approved by the synod of divines in Westminster, where it is said that the office of Apostles, &c., hath ceased. But I appeal from that to the Second Book of Discipline, which is of higher authority in the Church, and where it is said that they may be revived if the Lord see it good. Now we say positively, it hath been revived; and in proof of our asseveration, I appeal to the evidence, the whole evidence, upon your table; which, if you refuse to admit, you not only set the oaths of honest men at nought, but refuse to reverence that proviso and reverend supposition of your fathers, that the extraordinary gifts which were ceased might be revived again. Now, saving these two places, I declare before you all, that, up to this moment, I am unconscious of a word concerning the gift of the spirit, and the revival of the offices of apostles and prophets, being spoken of in any of the articles of the Church. I do not say that it is not so, but I am unconscious of its being so: I have never been curious to examine; but having engaged myself in republishing the ancient books of the Church, I know for certain that in the Confession of Faith, and in the Book of Discipline of the Church of Scotland, there is not a word spoken further on the subject.

"But, even supposing that there were a breach of discipline, I ask you to bear on your hearts of what degree and kind the breach of discipline ought to be, which would depose a man from being a minister of the Church of Scotland? The question is not, whether I have in anything infringed on the letter of the standards; but, whether I have been guilty of a crime sufficient to depose me from my church? Am I charged with heresy, neglect of public worship, leaving the flock for five or six Sundays without due notice to the Presbytery, notorious swearing, theft, adultery, fornication? Are these the things which the trustees have come hither to complain of? for, verily, to guard against such opprobrious scandals was the meaning of the clause, under the protestation of which they drag me up hither. In the name of common sense, can you think that the trustees were constituted for the end of keeping a look-out on the discipline of the Church of Scotland, or its doctrines either? To

come into every ordinance of the Church and office of the minister, and see whether they can rake up anything in our doings whereon they can fasten a complaint before the Presbytery? Surely this was never meant, but that they should take cognizance of such things as would depose a man in the Church of Scotland. Have I done anything worthy of deposition? Who is the man who can stand up before the Presbytery, and challenge me in any point of doctrine; in my walk and conversation; in my ministerial faithfulness; in anything which would invoke the question of deposition? Oh, if justice is not departed from the breasts of men; if the sacred duty of protecting a brother against oppression is not departed from the breasts of clergymen; if reverence for a pastor and minister who hath laboured and spent himself for ten years in their service, do dwell in the breasts of elders and people, think what you are doing this day, in sustaining a question of deposition against a man who, in the eye of the whole Church, is blameless as to its ordinances; who has been at pains to rebuild the ordinances of the Church, fallen into decay and desuetude; who has reconstituted its discipline in this city, restoring the office of the deaconship, the fast-days, with the other regular services both before and after the communion, the regular meetings of session, domestic visitation of the flock, the custom of lecturing and preaching, and public baptism, yea, and every other form of worship and discipline; bringing it into consistency with the standards of the Church and the word of God! What a thing it is for you to take sides, as you have manifestly done, against a brother brought up before you on a question of deposition, for no immorality, for no heresy, for no neglect of duty, no schism, nothing subversive of the Church; but, upon their own showing, for a mere irregularity or informality, if such it be! Is justice, is charity, is honour gone from your breasts, that you can bear such an insolence? If these be left with you, I can still, notwithstanding your manifested partiality, safely trust this question to the arbitration of the Presbytery.

"It hath been further said by the complainer, 'that they never merged on the matter of doctrine till they were compelled by the witnesses refusing to answer the questions on the point of doctrine in the way they thought it ought to be put.' Here he appealeth to a fact, in order to show the way in which he was brought into the matter of doctrine; and I, standing here, appeal to the remembrance of the court and people, whether it be not true that, of their own free will, without any constraint of any kind, they went into the doctrine. Was it ever heard that a witness compelled a party or a court to change their purpose? It is too absurd to be mentioned. The witness compels no one to go out of his course; many times the ques-

tioner compelled the witness, but never the witness the questioner. A witness is a silent man: nothing can be laid on his shoulders except the simple fact, how he answereth the questions put to him. It is too much for honest men to bear it, if one will say that the questions broached around the table were not put of their own free will, inquiring and on set purpose framed, in order to take to task, yea, and tease the witnesses, in order to find out my doctrine. It is too much for honest men who heard to take it in, that you were compelled by the witnesses to go into the doctrine; and when my solicitor objected to the relevancy of your doing so, I said, 'No, I allow you all liberty to go all length into any inquiry connected with the manifestations of the Spirit, and the doctrines which I preach.' But after you did so fully indulge your inquisitive curiosity, and put the witnesses on the rack of the most refined ingenuity, and almost laid for them the traps of cunning sophistry, it is too much for you to turn round and say, when it suits your arguments to do so, It is all a matter of discipline; and if we did go into doctrine, it was not our wish to do so, but we were forced out of our course by the witness; who is altogether passive in your hands, and hath no activity or force at all. If, therefore, you have gone into the question of doctrine — as from the evidence appeareth, nine tenths of which has to do with points of doctrine only—an evidence, let me say it, led, as if on purpose, to find out, if you could, some connexion between the manifestation of the Spirit and the doctrine which I teach,—yea, some collusion between the prophets and myself, which you may say was not intended, but was so evident as to strike one of the witnesses with such horror as forced him to exclaim, 'Do you think we stand here as knaves?' I say, then, if you, of your own accord, have thoroughly expiscated the question of doctrine in the evidence, and turn round upon us, and say, as the gentleman who was the mouth of the trustees declared, 'It is a question of mere discipline, and not one of doctrine at all'—you do commit tergiversation with a witness.

"The Moderator here interposed: The court does not commit itself to the allegation of Mr. Mann; we consider it as a mixed question of doctrine and discipline.

"*Mr. Irving:* I am very glad to hear that, Sir; I am sure the contrary could not be entertained.

"The next thing which was asserted by the other party in his speech was to this effect: That I called upon them to take my assumption, and the assumption of the witnesses, that it was the voice of the Holy Ghost. I assume nothing; but refer you to the testimony. And when was it ever heard that a witness assumeth anything? who only beareth testimony; and his testimony ye are bound to take, for he is upon oath.

"Ye yourselves chose them, led forth the evidence, and requested that they should be put upon their oath: and ye are bound to receive their testimony, if it contradict not itself, or otherwise be invalidated. As you defer to the sacred obligation of an oath, ye are bound to give sentence according to the evidence. Is a man to take an oath in vain, that, after commanding them to be sworn, ye should now declare that to be the mere assumption of the witnesses which is their testimony upon oath? And 'an oath for confirmation is an end of all strife.' God could not go further than an oath, and man cannot go further: and when a man has given his testimony upon oath, are ye to call that mere assumption?' When a witness is upon oath, are ye to say that in his heart he denies the responsibility on oath, and giveth forth assumptions? It is to insult man; it is to insult God, in whose name, and in whose presence he stands arraigned thus to speak; and honest men will not abide it. Have you anything upon your table in counter testimony? Not a word. Here, then, you have the testimony of witnesses selected by my opponents, that this is not a work of enthusiasm or fanaticism, but a work of the Holy Ghost (not their assumption, but their testimony). And surely out of thousands, they have selected men worthy of credit in the matter, the testimony of men whom you required to be sworn to give evidence as in the sight of God: and I say that it is an insult to the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth to make thus light of their testimony, unless an opposite testimony may be given. The Presbytery will look to it that the evidence be not without cause traduced; otherwise they will be answerable to God, whose name they have caused to be taken in vain, and to these witnesses, whose solemn testimony, confirmed by an oath, they disregard. All law and equity do regard an oath as the most holy of all things. Many men have been hanged on the testimony of a single man: and here are three men, chosen to make good the complaint, whose testimony beareth that it is all the work of the Holy Ghost. Be ye ware, then, of the rash unadvised statements of one who talketh of the testimony of the witness as mere assumption. And as to the other less important part of the charge, that I assume anything, I offered to prove it by the testimony of five hundred men; and I strictly charged my adversaries, in the hearing of the court, that if they judged me speaking anything at random, or away from the truth, they should challenge the same, and I would justify it on the spot, out of the mouths of their own witnesses, summoned and sworn by themselves. After these false charges against me and the witnesses, it was said, that to call it a work of the Holy Ghost was an outrage on common sense and decency. The good Lord forgive this word; forgive the lips, O God, by which it was uttered! O God, forgive it, and let it not

be reckoned against a brother. [Here the reverend gentleman was much affected.]

"The next thing asserted in his reply was, That the doctrine I laid down concerning this matter in my place of minister in this church, was the doctrine of Popery; which he, as an Englishman and a Protestant, could not receive. I founded the doctrine on the authority of two passages of Holy Writ, namely, the two passages from the 2nd chapter of Revelations, concerning the duty of the angel of the church towards apostles and prophets. Now, if I the minister am not the angel of the church, it hath no angel; and the seven epistles cannot be profitable to us, for they are addressed to the angel of the church. The Great Head of the Church approved the angel of the church of Ephesus, for trying the men who came into the church, saying that they were apostles; and for putting them away, because he found them liars. Did the angel herein act wrong? why then doth the Lord approve him? What the Lord Jesus approves, this man may call Popery and tyranny. It mattereth not to me; I will continue to act so unto the end, and will require both Englishmen and Protestants to submit to it. Another passage in the same chapter rebuketh the angel of the church of Thyatira for allowing that woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, to teach, and to seduce the servants of the Lord. These were the grounds, and no other, of the doctrine which I held, as I can appeal to every one of my flock, even the trustees themselves. Yet, I did not teach that it was the duty of the minister in any congregation alone to bear the burden of this responsibility; but it is his province to make trial whether they be true prophets, and being satisfied thereof to set them before the congregation; whereupon he and the congregation, acting together by the Spirit of Jesus, will, in due time, ascertain the point. Nor would I consider my office made void, nor yet that I did not discharge my office of a faithful minister, if it should turn out that every one whom I had set before the congregation as a prophet were not a true prophet. My duty standeth still the same though I may sometimes fail therein, and I am bound to fulfil it to the best of my ability. Because I am not a perfect man, because I have not the infallibility of God, I am not to shrink from yielding obedience to the commandment of the Lord Jesus, and to put forth whatever judgment, whatever discernment He hath given me. There is nothing Papal in my doctrine. I do not presume to be infallible, nor even to take the whole determination of the matter upon myself; for this were to offend the generation of his children, and to trample on the rights of the people and their duties also, which are to 'try the spirits whether they be of God.' If I were to say that I would not license any one to speak before the congre-

gation until I was infallibly certain he was a prophet, then God would soon bring me to shame for standing between His people and their duty. The angel's it is to license, the people's to approve or not; and it is his to withdraw the licence when it hath been abused.

"This is the doctrine which I had and have acted upon; I set before the people, according to the best of my ability, those who had the signs of the prophets, and said to the whole church, 'Now try ye them, they are before you.' And for the purpose of gathering the common voice, I sat in the vestry every day for many weeks, that the people might come to me, and give in to me any doubts or distresses which pressed on their consciences. I ask, was this a Papal act? I deem it was my pastoral duty; it became me as a dutiful minister of the gospel. I think the gentleman should have been at more pains to choose the words which he used before the reverend Presbytery, especially when speaking of the actings of his minister. And, when speaking so much of right, and justice, and good feeling, he should have borne in mind that these are not the monopoly of any single individual, but the constitution of man as the creature of God. Did I charge anything against any man, that I should be so abused with evil words? When at one time you challenged the word I spoke, I appealed the matter to the court, and it was decided that I had not spoken unadvisedly. Yet was I contented to change the word, that no one might be offended; because, as I have said, right, and equity, and good feeling, are not the monopoly of any man, but the gifts of God to His responsible creatures, which He must not suffer to be trampled on if He can prevent it. Let words be well weighed in speaking before a court constituted under the Head of the Church, especially when they affect the standing of a minister of Christ, than which no standing on the earth is more dignified and sacred. The opposite party next took occasion to animadvert upon an answer of one of the witnesses, in that he had said that on one occasion, when he thought he was speaking by the power of the Spirit, he came afterwards to see that he was speaking by a spirit of error. From which it was argued, that if they knew not the spirit by which they spake, there was nothing to rest upon but my *ipse dixit*. Before proceeding to reply to this grave matter, I beg to recall your attention to the way in which the witness gave that part of his testimony; for now I feel that we are indeed come to the substance of the question, which entirely turneth upon the evidence before the court. And I do heartily wish that instead of so many irrelevant strictures upon my defence, the gentleman had alluded more to the matter in evidence. Observe, then, that this answer was a free-will offering on the part of the witness, and not in answer to any interrogations.

Also, it was not from his own conviction, for he declared that he had not yet come to the full conviction of not having spoken by the Holy Ghost, but had some reason to suspect it from some misgivings of his own mind, which had been mainly brought to light by the rebuke of another member of the church in whom the Spirit speaketh. And forasmuch as, in giving testimony, we are called upon only to declare that which we know and have fully ascertained to be the truth, there was no call to put this forth, even if there had been a question leading to it, which there was not; but like a man whose conscience was rendered very delicate by the teaching of the Holy Ghost, and as a man standing before a court which should be constituted under Jesus, and have the spirit of holy discernment, he would not allow a doubt on his mind to remain untold, nor leave a chance of your being misinformed. It was a beautiful instance of perfect purity of conscience, however little it was appreciated both by the other party and the court, concerning which it is not my intention to express what I feel. But with respect to the conclusion attempted to be drawn from it, I must say that it betrays great ignorance of this book of God to draw such a conclusion, as we shall show immediately. But further, with respect to the testimony in answer to the question, how he discerned whether it was the Spirit of God or the spirit of error by which he spake; his answer was, by the fruits: love, joy, peace, and other fruits of the Spirit, which, at the time he had rebuked his pastor, he felt to be absent, and not present with his soul. He was then asked whether it lay merely with his own feelings whether the spirit that came to him was of God or not; and he immediately replied, 'Can I believe these fruits of the Holy Ghost are from the spirit of error?' And so sayeth the Apostle John: 'He that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that evil one toucheth him not.' And now with respect to the conclusion which all, especially the court, sought, by cross-questioning, to extort from this answer, I refer them, for their better information, to the prophet Jeremiah, who thus speaketh to the Lord: 'O Lord, Thou knowest; remember me, and visit me, and revenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in Thy long-suffering: know that for Thy sake I have suffered rebuke. Thy words were found, and I did eat them, and Thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart; for I am called by Thy name, O Lord God of Hosts. I sat not in the assembly of the mockers, nor rejoiced; I sat alone because of Thy hand: for Thou hast filled me with indignation. Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? wilt thou be altogether unto me as a liar, and as waters that fail?' Here we have the instance of a prophet than whom no one had perhaps a greater charge laid

upon him, and one most like to that now laid upon the prophets to be His witnesses against a falling church; and he was so carried beyond his understanding as to say to the Lord, 'Wilt Thou be altogether to me as a liar, and as waters that fail?' And in the 20th chapter, verse 7, he uses stronger language: 'Oh Lord, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived.' If Jeremiah had not known God's word by some other test than his own understanding of it, or than the expected time and way of the fulfilment, his case would have been desperate, for he looks upon himself as a deceived man. Such words from such a mouth may well make us to pause a little, and study the law of the prophet's calling, and the temptations to which he is exposed. Do not, I beseech you, be rash; let us not, coming straight from the deep and dark ignorance which exists on such a subject, seeing there have been of a long time no prophets in the Church, begin to draw conclusions, and pronounce judgments, and do the part of legislators, before we have inquired into the standing of the prophet, or known anything of his conditions. Surely the Lord hath not lied to Jeremiah, and deceived him; and yet the prophet supposeth, yea, and saith it, leaning to his own understanding, and so stood in peril of being snared: 'The word of the Lord was made a reproach to him and a derision daily.' The calling of the prophet is a fearful one; Jeremiah flinched from it, because it brought him into trouble, and the word which he spoke from the Lord was not accomplished how and where he had expected. Jonah, who stood to Israel (2 Kings xiv. 25) much as Jeremiah stood to Jerusalem, was so well aware of God's relentings, and of the prophet's apparent dishonour thereby, that he fled away from the presence of the Lord, and refused to be His prophet unto Nineveh on no other account whatever, as he himself averreth (Jonah iv. 1). Let it not be for a moment imagined that God ever gave forth, by the mouth of a prophet, anything but the truth; yet so little were the prophets able to construe their own messages, that they seemed ever to themselves to be deceived in them. The prophet cannot understand his own utterances; if he could, they would not be manifestly from another mind, but might be from his own. And I verily believe that any prophet who will undertake to interpret, either to himself or to others what he utters, will be snared. Sufficient for one man is the honour of transmitting the word pure from the fountain. It belongeth to those who hear it to find out its meaning. It is from faith to faith that God ever speaketh. A dear friend of my own, who lately spake by the Spirit of God in my church, as all the spiritual of the church fully acknowledge, and almost all acknowledge still—I mean Mr. Baxter, who is now in everybody's mouth—hath, I believe, been taken in this very snare

of endeavouring to interpret, by means of a mind remarkably formal in its natural structure, the spiritual utterances which he was made to give forth; and perceiving a want of concurrence between the word and the fulfilment, he hastily said, 'It is a lying spirit by which I have spoken.' No lie is of the truth; no prophet is a liar; and if the thing come not to pass, he hath spoken presumptuously. But while this is true, it is equally true that no prophet since the world began has been able to interpret the time, place, manner, and circumstance of the fulfilment of his own utterances. And to Jeremiah, thus unwarrantably employing himself, God seemed to be a deceiver and a liar, as the Holy Ghost hath seemed to be to my honoured and beloved friend, whom may the Lord speedily restore again.

"But to return to the case of the prophet Jeremiah—The notion current about the prophet is, that he is a man sealed and set apart for infallible utterances. And I perceived when the prophet who was examined as a witness before you confessed of his own accord to an utterance of which he now doubteth, you shrunk from having any more faith in his prophetical calling, or if I might say it, you triumphed as if you had gotten a victory. But be it known to you that the prophet is, after all, still fallible; and that God is the only infallible being, and the only infallible man is the Lord Jesus Christ; and as for the infallibility in another, the pope is the oldest claimant of it; nobody else having dared to usurp it from the Godhead and manhood of Jesus Christ. The prophet, indeed, and not only he, but every Christian, while he abideth in Jesus, speaketh only the truth; but as he leaves the light of life, so is he liable to snares, as was the case with my brother, or I may say my child, in the Gospel. All the prophecies and writings in the Scriptures were delivered by persons so abiding in the communion of Jesus, and so moved by his Spirit to utter only the truth; but these very persons were liable to fall into snares, and might at other times have spoken presumptuously. We have several examples of the fact in the case of Peter, one of the holy penmen, who at times both spoke and taught erroneously. God will not set up an outward infallibility, but reposeth it in the teaching of the Spirit through the faith of the word; 'Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.' What saith the Lord to Jeremiah? 'Therefore, thus saith the Lord, if thou return, then will I bring thee again, and thou shalt stand before me: and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth: let them return unto thee, but return not unto them' (Jer. xv. 19). So say I to the prophet who is now stumbled and fallen, and to him who did once stumble, as he confessed in your hearing.

"*Mr. Maclean* asked whether, in referring to a certain person he meant Mr. Taplin.

"*Mr. Irving:* Sir, I was referring to Mr. Taplin indirectly, and to Mr. Baxter directly; but, both to the one and the other, only as illustrative of the prophet's standing so entirely misunderstood and misrepresented in the speech of the other party.

"An Elder here interposed, and defended Mr. Irving from the interruption, when he thus proceeded:—

"I was reading and commenting upon the word of the Lord at the time the reverend gentleman interrupted me, and not putting forth any notion of my own; and the word I read was this, 'I will bring thee again,' that is, from thy doubting and silence, 'and make thee as a brazen wall.' These things I submit to your consideration, not surely to lower any man's idea of the prophet of God, still less to serve any particular ends of my own, if I had any in this case, which is not mine, but that of the Catholic Church: but in order to put you on your guard against the statements of men who come straight from the counting-house or the shop, and the other engagements of secular life, and rashly decide on such holy and grave matters. Your only safety is to look to the law and the testimony, to the experience of those holy men who stood in the same office heretofore. To this bringing back your attention I refer again to the prophet Jeremiah, 'O Lord, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed: I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me. For since I spake, I cried out, I cried violence and spoil; because the word of the Lord was made a reproach unto me, and a derision, daily. Then I said, I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His name: but His word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay.' (Jer. xx. 7–9.) Whatever was the cause, whether he thought God had not kept His word made to him when He called him to the prophet's office (Jer. i. 17–19), or whether some of his utterances had seemed to himself and the people to fail; or whether the Lord had relented, as Jonah knew to be his manner; this is clear from these verses, that a prophet may be shaken from his position like another man, and may be left to take the resolution of speaking no more in the Lord's name, as hath been the case with my dear brother referred to above, who now restraineth himself from uttering in that power which he and we believed to be of the Holy Ghost, because he thinks it hath deceived him. A prophet may be a very unstable man, and be brought into great doubtings, and yet be a true prophet withal; may grieve and dishonour God very much, and yet be retained in His service, and exalted to very great honour. What then is the guide of the prophet in judging of the

power that comes to him in vision, in revelation, in utterance? It is a clean conscience, at peace with God, rejoicing in holiness, and averse from all evil, to which God coming maketh sweet harmony of truth and love therein, and useth the tongue to give it forth in words worthy of God. But that the prophets did not understand the things they prophesied, Peter, in his first epistle, expressly declareth, 'Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into' (1 Peter i. 10–12). The law of the prophets is, as I have said, that they should *not* understand the thing they did utter, to show that they were speaking not by the understanding of man, but by inspiration and the utterance of God. If the prophets spake by their own understanding, what were the prophets more than a meaner man? and I may observe in passing, that the mystery of the unknown tongue introducing the utterance, is to teach us that the thing about to be uttered, as it cometh from a higher source, addresseth itself to another ear than that of the natural understanding, even to the discernment of the Spirit of Christ with us, and that the meaning is hid from the prophet himself; that as neither prophet nor people understand the tongue, so neither prophet nor people are to receive or render out by the understanding the thing uttered. It is not by the understanding, though of a Bacon, that a word of God can be apprehended; for 'the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are spiritually discerned.'

"The universal law of all divine truth is exemplified, and as it were embodied, in the act of speaking in an unknown tongue, when the spirit of the speaker is edified, though his understanding be unfruitful; having entire communion with God in spirit, though entirely darkened in the understanding; which, after all, is no more than the most orthodox truth, that without the Spirit of God the word of God availeth not unto any fruit of life, but only unto death: 'the letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive.' The prophet's own understanding is as incompetent as the hearer's to interpre this own utterances; and he, as much as we are, is driven upon the indwelling mind of Christ, in order to have fellowship with the word of the Spirit in his own lips. The spiritual man discerneth all things, and

every one having the anointing of the life of Christ abiding in him hath the means of discerning and testing the things spoken by the prophet; for Christ and the Spirit are one in the substance of the Godhead, and the Holy Ghost doth only take of the things of Christ, and show them to our souls.— Some of the questions put by the opposite party, but still more put by you, the judges, went to reveal a base suspicion, as if I were lording it over, or acting in collusion with the gifted persons. Oh, perish the thought! I pretend not, save as a pastor, to direct the order of the church, and as a minister to show the mark and stamp of the Spirit of God in the matter and form of the utterances; leaving things future, and things which I discern not, to be opened by the Lord in His own time.

"Jeremiah hasted, and fell into the sin of charging God falsely, and stood in peril of falling entirely, if he had not returned and separated the precious from the vile. But it may be said—This is not in point; it is not so exactly in point as that case to which I now refer you, the prophecy of Ezekiel, xiv. 8–11—'And I will set my face against that man, and will make him a sign and a proverb, and I will cut him off from the midst of my people; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. And if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceived that prophet; and I will stretch out my hand upon him, and will destroy him from the midst of my people Israel. And they shall bear the punishment of their iniquity: the punishment of the prophet shall be even as the punishment of him that seeketh unto him; that the house of Israel may go no more astray from me, neither be polluted any more with all their transgressions; but that they may be my people, and I may be their God, saith the Lord God.' Let those who think a prophet, whose lips are sealed up for infallibility, and if he utter anything amiss that it countervaileth and subverteth all which he hath ever spoken, peruse this passage, which is only one of many, wherein the prophets are constantly reproached for their unfaithfulness, as well as the priests and the princes. Our adversaries argue, that because a prophet, speaking by the Spirit of God, hath been once deceived, this doth invalidate his speaking by the Spirit of God at other times, and therefore he is no prophet, and speaketh not of God. But what saith God? 'If the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceived that prophet.' Now the meaning of this will be best explained by referring to the instance recorded in 1 Kings xxii. 15–16, where Micaiah came to the king, who said to him, 'Micaiah, shall we go against Ramŏth-gilead to battle, or shall we forbear? And he answered him, Go, and prosper: for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the king.' We may, I think,

hardly doubt that this word came from Jehovah, in what way he hardened Pharaoh's heart, and doth lead the wicked into temptation. God permitted Micaiah to utter it, as a word to try the temper of the king, and reprove his levity and his tampering with the prophets of the Lord. But when the king became serious, and adjured him saying, 'How many times shall I adjure thee that thou tell me nothing but that which is true in the name of the Lord;' God seeing the king's mind turned to earnestness, and hearing him speak to His prophet as His prophet should be spoken to, giveth to His prophet another word which might prevent him from the evil he meditated, and not lead him into temptation to commit it. Most true it is, as saith St. James, that 'God tempteth not any man;' but when a man will suffer his own lusts to tempt him to evil, the Lord, wearied out with correcting him, and having no profit of His rebukes, doth ofttimes lead him on that He may punish him for his iniquity on this side the grave, and haply save his soul in the day of the Lord. Therefore spake Jesus in parables, that 'seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not hear, lest they should be converted, and I should heal them.' Ye may say, this is strange doctrine. Strange, indeed, it is to a man who cannot think of vengeance in his God, whereas vengeance belongeth unto Him; but how should it be strange to any father or mother who are practised in the education of their children? How oft doth a father, having sought in vain by counsel and correction to heal the perversity of his child, permit him in a little of his own will, yea, lay the very temptation in his way, that he may prove the evil of it, and so avoid it in the time to come. And shall not God be intrusted with the same liberty in disciplining a prophet or a people? Shall He not also lead His children, and give them to taste of the fruit of their own ways? Nay, He will and ever doth with the wicked as He did with Pharaoh; and it is a chief part of His discipline with strong-headed and high-handed sinners. Wherefore also we pray continually, 'Lead us not into temptation.' And this did He that day by Ahab, by making Micaiah the instrument without misleading him. Micaiah was not deceived; but a word through him would have deceived the king, unless he had changed his mood, and adjured him solemnly in the name of the Lord, who straightway answered, 'I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills, as sheep that have not a shepherd: and the Lord said, These have no master: let them return every man to his house in peace' (1 Kings xxii. 17). This case proveth that a prophet, without fault of his, may be used to deceive a king or a pastor, a people or a flock. But still this is not the case in point; for it was through fault of the prophets that the evil before us fell

out. In such a case, I believe, it ariseth from opening the door unto Satan, through some unholy state of his heart. It certainly was so in the present instance. The prophet had conceived suspicions of me as not dealing uprightly but partially; and as not comforting him in his trials, but helping on the affliction. This was entirely a misjudgment; and being against a pastor, it added the sin of insubordination to that of uncharitableness. Through this door Satan entered in, and the Lord permitted him to occupy for once the gift which the prophet had not kept by the Holy Ghost, as Paul commandeth Timothy to do (2 Tim. i.). These are deep things, and I would not be understood to give out anything dogmatically concerning it. But it shows that a prophet may be deceived, and be a prophet still; and it teacheth how rash and foolish are they who question and reason, as if that one thing subverted the whole question. The direction given by the Lord is this, 'And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, ut the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him' (Deut. xviii. 21, 22). Such a prophet loseth his credit and standing with the people, and maketh shipwreck of his calling towards God. And every prophet standeth in jeopardy of this, and there is no other safety for him than for others. 'My grace is sufficient for thee, and my strength is perfected in weakness.' Our brother did it in that instance presumptuously: as a prophet, he did it in the power of a prophet, and he hath suffered loss for it in his own soul; but now that he hath openly and of free will confessed it in the hearing of all, I believe that he hath delivered his own soul, how many soever he may stumble thereby; myself he stumbleth not, because I have somewhat studied and understood the law of the prophet. And should a prophet, therefore, deem his standing to be unsteady or unsafe? Surely not. He standeth by faith, as every one else doth stand in Christ. Nor is there any other safety in the world but abiding in Christ. Jesus, who lived by faith upon the Father, did always speak the truth; and the prophet who liveth by faith on Christ will with the same certainty speak nothing but the truth; and not he alone, but every Christian. For the anointing which we have received is true, and no lie. If I, as a minister, abide in Christ, my utterances will always be true. And how are the people to be defended? In the same way, by abiding in Christ, and hearing the prophets, without suspicion, as the voice of the Holy Ghost. If they look upon it as lies, they disgrace and trample on the ordinance, and will be punished for the same. Yet, if they rest

in reverencing the ordinance, without seeking the answer of the Spirit of Jesus in their hearts, they do neglect the Ordinance-Head; which is still worse, and they shall speedily be shut up in superstition, and given over to the idolatry of men and of gifts, to the destruction of that love which is the life of Jesus, and of God within the soul. And yet a church, and their minister, and their prophets, all standing together faithfully in Jesus, may, nay will, certainly be tried with temptations from Satan, as an angel of light, who will endeavour to introduce heresies and schisms, or to bring in hypocrites, false brethren, unawares; or will entrap some weak, foolish ones, and through them seek to prophesy his lies, and to minister his delusions. But in such a case the Lord will, in due time, detect him, through the faithfulness of the brethren; and the poor lamb will be delivered out of the lion's mouth, and the lion will be driven away from the fold.

"A prophet is not sent for a single person, nor for a family, but for the Church; and if the Church abide in truth and love they will not be misled though all the spirits of hell came forth against them. Moreover, if a church, having prophets sent to them, as my church hath, will not abide in Jesus, but look to the prophet as if he were something, the Lord will chasten that church by the mouth of that prophet, who is ever more jealous of Christ than he is of himself. But if the prophet shrink from rebuking the church, pastor and all, then will the Lord take the other way of rebuking both him and the people, smiting him their idol, and making him to stumble and fall. And if they are inclined to set him above the pastor, and the pastor be faithful, the Lord will justify the pastor; all to teach that the prophet is nothing apart from Christ, even as it is written, 'Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase' (1 Cor. iii. 5, 6). If the prophets have done me any good, it is in teaching me to do nothing without Christ, and to dare to do everything in and by Christ. They have made me bold for my Master, for myself a very coward. And the same effect I covet for my people. All these things have I spoken, that ye might understand the law and the prophets, whereof we are all wofully ignorant. So may the Lord guard you from rash and ignorant judgment.

"The notion now subsisting in the church concerning the prophet is that he gave signs supernatural, on the credit of which he was to be believed without further question: and concerning inspiration, that it was an enforcement of the organs of speech, whereby they could not utter anything but the truth. The former notion subverts all moral responsibility in the hearers; the latter doth the

same by the prophets; and both together do make God first to extinguish responsibility, in order to bring in that word whereto all are to be responsible. We have shown the utter falsehood of the notion as respecteth the prophet, who was no more an infallible person than is the pope; being liable, like every other man, to be drawn aside, as was Jonah, by his distrust of God; and he standeth only by his faith. This only had he above other men, that the conviction of truth within him is wont to be sealed to him by a supernatural revelation of light and power in utterance; which, however, he possesseth not for his own private use, nor for the use of any private family or society of men, but for the whole Church of God; yea, and for the whole world. Of the other part of this bare and baseless hypothesis, which now holdeth the Church concerning the traduction of infallible truth from God to man — namely that the prophet hath but to give a miraculous sign, and let him say what he pleaseth, must be believed; and if any one doubt, he hath but to thrust forth another wonder into the midst of the beholders, and carry on his revelations,— I will just quote against it one of the great standing rules of God, as given in all parts of His Word. In the Law of Moses it is written thus: 'If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul. Ye shall walk after the Lord your God, and fear Him, and keep His commandments, and obey His voice, and ye shall serve Him and cleave unto Him. And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death, because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee' (Deut. xiii. 1—5). Was the sign or the wonder to authenticate and verify the word uttered by the prophet? No; but the law and the testimony were to verify the sign. And, if they did not attest it, the prophet was to be put to death, all signs and wonders notwithstanding. So, now have I dealt by the prophets whom the Lord hath sent into my church, trying everything by the written word of God; and at no rate permitting any deviation therefrom, or inconsistency therewith, to have any authority, though uttered with all the tongues of men or of angels. And among many hundreds of

instances spoken in the midst of us, the greatest doubter, the greatest opposer, hath been able to discover nothing repugning from the Holy Scriptures. Yea, even in one case which there hath been strong reason to suspect not to be from God, so carefully hath God overruled the enemy, that out of his mouth nothing hath been permitted to issue but glory unto our God and His Christ. Yet do the majority both of ministers and of people stand aloof from the work on no other ground but this, that there are no signs and wonders; thereby confessing that they are willing to judge God's Word by the light of the eye, and by the hearing of the ear, but on no account by the discernment of the Spirit of Jesus within them. From which folly let them be delivered by reading the 2nd chapter of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. The signs and wonders are demonstrations of supernatural power; but whether from the region of spiritual good, or of spiritual evil descending, the fact of their being above nature determineth not. This is to be known by their character, of grace, and goodness, and blessing, or of violence, and malice, and destructiveness. The diabolical possessions were witnessed in the torture which they brought, and the Divine power in delivering from the same, and bringing back to peace of conscience, soundness of mind, and health of body. And so shall it continue to be evidenced unto the end; an evil spiritual world contending with the good in all supernatural acts, in order, if possible, to seduce the faith and obedience of men. The speakers for the one are false prophets, for the other are good prophets; and nothing can discriminate between them but the honest and good heart, which discerneth between good and evil; and the life of Jesus in the believer, which, being of one substance with the Holy Ghost, doth well know His voice, and the voice of a stranger will not follow. I marvel greatly at the doting, dreaming Church which for the last century, in all universities and colleges, and in all books of evidence, hath been teaching men to look only or chiefly to the external evidence to the things in time or place, the tradition of miracles, and so preparing a snare for the taking of the whole Church, in which all the book-learned and book-readers are at present holden almost to a man, and bound fast. And the common people have escaped only because they are not readers of Paley, Lardner, Macknight, and the host of their followers.

"What test our Lord gives to distinguish true prophets from false, you have written in these words: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so, every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree

cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven' (Matt. vii. 15—21). Do they produce the fruits of righteousness in those who give ear unto them, and obey their words. For themselves, their disguise may be complete 'in sheep's clothing,' though 'inwardly they are ravenous wolves;' and their words may to the ear be sound and true, but inwardly they are 'ravening wolves,' and will infuse the same spirit into those who follow after them. This spirit will express itself first in a spirit of zealous proselytism; for until they can get the sheep from under their proper shepherds, they cannot so well get their wicked use out of them. Then, when they have got them incorporated into a sect, they work them to their ends, seducing them to commit all manner of iniquity with greediness. Thus was it exhibited in the heresies of the primitive Church, which came in through false prophets, possessed, I make no doubt, in the instances of the Gnostics and the Manicheans, with seducing spirits, propagating doctrines of devils, and ending in abominations hitherto unpractised, and even unheard of in the world. But the true prophets are for edification, exhortation, and comfort of the Church of God, for bringing them up into the stature of the fulness of Christ. Now if you can observe any features of error, or fruits of wickedness about us, or about those who adhere to us, then bear testimony against us; for we desire nothing more than to have our errors exposed, that we may correct them. But if the fruits upon the minister have been greater light, love, faith, and watchfulness; upon those who follow his faith, greater holiness, communion, and obedience, as even our enemies are forced to confess, then do you greatly offend the Lord in not applying His test, but judging those to be false prophets who by their fruits do prove themselves to be true ones. The evil fruits which are produced in the people upon whom false prophets practise, I have had occasion to know and to observe in the followers of Joanna Southcote, who are a people full of evil possessions; and also in many persons acting as prophets among the ignorant of this city, and actually possessed of familar spirits capable of divination. And I can lay this down as an invariable rule that the conscience of truth is deadened in them all, 'having their conscience seared as with a red hot iron,' and the natural strength of the will altogether gone. Irresolute and without determination, they are the slaves of the spirit which overruleth them; and, when speaking in their own understanding, the great, almost the whole bent of their discourse is to justify and magnify the spirit, by recounting the wonderful prognostications

which He hath given to them. But it is a certain characteristic of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of the Father, that He doth not testify of Himself, but of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the witness of whom He is given. When a false spirit getteth hold of an ingenious and cultivated mind, I do observe that it leadeth him into all manner of wanderings, as it did the Gnostics of old, and destroyeth all mark of truth in subtle niceties, striking analogies, and mazes of doctrine of which I had read in the first ages of the Church, but never dreamed of seeing them equalled, yea, and surpassed, in our days. Furthermore it hath befallen me, within these twelve months past, to have had personal knowledge of members of Christ's body, upon whom the subtle enemy hath made diverse attempts to seduce them from their integrity, by taking the form of an angel of light, and in most cases it hath been attended with the fruits of disgrace in their own souls; and when permitted to proceed through ignorance or mistakes as to its true character, hath ended in the entire subversion of confidence towards God and the brethren, to suspicion of, yea, and insurrection against the ordinance of the pastor and of the church itself; or it hath ended in dazzling the mind, and deceiving the conscience with such shows of light and love, as to make it utterly impervious to the counsel of the brethren, to the authority of rulers, yea, and to the voice of the Holy Ghost Himself. The various experience which I have had during the last twelve months of the work of the Holy Ghost, and the work of Satan, hath convinced me that, until the discernment of spirits shall be given as a distinct gift in the Church, there is no rule so certain as that which our Lord hath given of trying them by the fruits. And taking this rule, I must solemnly declare that, if the fruits of the Spirit be 'love, peace, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, patience, temperance,' these fruits have been produced by the Spirit speaking in our church, whether you respect the persons in whom He speaketh, or those who have grace given to recognise and confess it as the Holy Ghost.

"Besides this universal test of our Lord, there be others of a more special kind given by the Apostles, which I have found available in some cases for the detection and exposure of evil spirits. The confession 'that Jesus Christ is Lord,' and that 'Christ is come in the flesh,' hath, in my own experience, sufficed to detect an evil spirit; and in other cases, when an evil power was present, there hath been such ample confession on these heads as would deceive the most wary and sagacious inquirer. There is a mystery in this which I do not thoroughly understand; but it seems to me that besides evil possessions, when another spirit is actually present in the person of a man, there is a power which Satan putteth forth through the flesh, to imitate and counterfeit the utterances of the Holy Ghost through

the spirit. For the former case I believe it is that the test of the Apostles is given; but the latter case yieldeth only to the rule of our Lord, 'Try the prophets by their fruits,' or to the discernment which is given to one prophet of another, in order to keep his order pure, and to preserve a brother from the attempts of Satan through the flesh. But it is not convenient in this place to go into the details of an experience which would fill a volume. Only these things I have said for the end of clearing a little the matter of true and false prophets, and to show how utterly erroneous is the notion universally current, that a prophet is to be tried by the miracles which he can do; as if there were no evil region in the spiritual or supernatural world, as well as in the visible and natural. Let the Presbytery be upon their guard against the sweeping and loose conclusions of the opposite party, who would have you to believe that nothing will prove a man to be a prophet but unchangeable infallibility. I cannot go into all the trials with which this work of God hath been tried of the enemy. But I will say this, in general, that as well as that which hath been referred to, as every other, have been permitted of God, in order to show the work to be His, who ever cometh forth to suppress and defeat them all. As, in the days of our Lord, Satan's kingdom was manifested in demoniacal possessions that Jesus might be proved not to have a devil, but the Holy Ghost in casting them out; so amongst us hath Satan's power in utterance been permitted, in order that the work of the Holy Ghost might be proved in detecting and exposing them, and putting them to silence. When they charged Jesus with casting out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils, he answered, 'A kingdom is not divided against itself.' So can I, the minister of the church in which the Holy Ghost hath manifested Himself, say to those who allege that it is a work of Satan, Satan would not cast Satan out — Satan would not silence Satan. In every form have I seen Satan seek to insinuate himself into this work and mar it; and as often have I seen him withstood by the supernatural power which speaketh among us in tongues and prophesying, whereby I know that it is the power of God — of Jesus the vanquisher of Satan — of the Holy Ghost, in that very form in which He was manifested in the day of Pentecost.

"The next allegation is, That I have, with no very great kindness, charged on the trustees and complainers that they have absented themselves from the church, and at once denounced the doctrine, without investigation or inquiry. It is not necessary for me to refute this further than to state what I said. What I said was, that instead of coming to the church to hear the utterances, and try the spirits, a great portion of the trustees refused to come near us any more, and would not even hear the spirits, much less try them; and so they

come up to the Presbytery, *causâ incognitâ*. I did not say that all had done so, but that a great portion of the trustees had so; and if it is not true, let them now gainsay it. But you perceive they do not.

"The next charge is, That I suffered unauthorised persons to speak in the church. My answer is, They were not unauthorised persons. I authorised them: in the right, in the plenary right, which I possess as an angel of the Church of Christ;—I authorised them; and the man liveth not who can come between the Lord Jesus and me His minister, so as to set that authority aside. I do not say that my authorising of them is credentials enough, but that my Master only can control me in the exercise of that authority. The allegation therefore is not true. They were fully authorised. I say it in the presence of ministers of the Gospel, of the angels and elders of the churches; and in defence of this right, which I must not surrender to any man, or to any body of men, I appeal again to the express command of the Lord himself, in two of the epistles to the Churches, and no one can say that this is not good and sufficient ground of any right.

"Then I was taxed with dishonesty; and I was told, if I was an honest man, I ought to have gone forth of the church. Let me repress the feeling that riseth in my bosom, while I repel the insinuation; for I must not speak out of the resentment of nature, but out of the charity of grace. *Dishonesty!* if it be such a moot point and simple case of honesty and dishonesty, why trouble they the Presbytery to consider it? Ye trouble the Presbytery, do ye, to adjust a question of common honesty and dishonesty? It is a great and grave question, affecting the right of the ministers and prophets of the Christian Church; a question of the most deep and sacred importance; a question, not of discipline only, but of doctrine; and is a question of doctrine, and of discipline, and of ordinance, and of personal right, to be called a question of common honesty, as if I were a knave? Ye, being the judges, ought not to have permitted the complainers thus to speak of a reverend brother, and twit me as I was twitted. Ye were quick-scented after their honour, but mine they might trample under foot. My well-known character among you ought to have protected me from this allegation. It was not right in you to permit it; nay, but they themselves know me too well not to know that I am honest, at least, according to the measure of a fallible man, for I do ever aim to be honest. These insinuations are not honourable to you, nor to me; ye should not have permitted them to be uttered of a brother. It is to me a question of great and momentous duty, which hath cost me long, laborious, and painful thought. Was it a small matter for me when planted the

minister of the church of Christ, and secured in the possession of that house during my life, unless I should be guilty of some crime disqualifying me for the ministry, to surrender the post in which God, and the Church, and the covenants of man, had planted me, to the discontent of a few men, to the opinions of any number of men, whom I believed in my heart to be grieving both God and His Church, by their rash and indiscriminate, their hasty, heady, and unfounded judgments? Seeing they rest so much upon the trust-deed, I also am a party to that document, representing the Church of God, the flock of believers, and a numerous congregation; whose petition to be heard at your bar upon the issue, you have rejected. If these men be parties representing the house of stone, and brick, and lime, and timber, I am a party representing the flock of believers, gathered unto Christ under my ministry, through whose generous contributions, chiefly, the house hath been both builded and upheld; and being placed as their representative in the trust-deed, I ask if it was a small matter that should move me to consent to go forth from the habitation and home of our souls, and wander, we know not whither, over this wide and wicked city, where we have no Church that will call us sister, or welcome us to an hour's shelter under their roof? These men seem to have little knowledge of the thoughts for my flock, which have exercised and wearied, and, but for our God's presence, would have overwhelmed my heart; else they would not have spoken of it as they have done, as if it were a question of private feeling, and not of great and grave responsibility before God and man. My personal right in that church never once came into my mind. The condition of my wife and young children, cast out upon the wide world, never once was spoken of amongst all the strivings which we have had together, upon this question, in the kirk-session and congregation. Every one felt that the question was altogether one of a higher region, and it doth indeed amaze me to hear it now, for the first time in this presence, spoken of as a personal question merely, and the simplest of all personal questions; namely, whether I was to act the part of an honest man by removing, or of a knave, by abiding in the church. Even in cases where a minister hath done something in direct violation of his ministerial standing, preaching heresy, or practising schism, or breaking the moral law, he may not be called upon to leave the Church out of hand, but must be proceeded against by libel; and even in civil matters a man may not be degraded from his office, or deprived of his liberty, upon any confession of his own, but upon the judgment of his peers, because we are guardians one of another, members of a community: how much more in a question like this, where there are neither written statutes, nor precedents, nor common practice, whereon to convict me,— ex-

cept, indeed, the statutes and precedents of the word of God, which are altogether on my side. But to cut this matter short, is it not upon your table in evidence that this is a work of the Holy Ghost? and can there be any statute forbidding the Holy Ghost to speak in His own temple? And if He do speak, must I, as an honest man, call upon my flock to go forth with me from the house in which He has spoken, as if it were defiled, and for ever disqualified from being the house of our worship and our peace?

"This is a temptation which has come over my brethren, arising from their loose and unholy way of thinking and speaking upon this subject, as if it were a common bargain between the trustees upon the one hand, and myself on the other. I would it had been such: neither you nor they would have been troubled with it this day, for the world is wide, and the English tongue is widely diffused over it, and I am used to live by faith, and love my calling of a preacher of the gospel, as well as I do my calling of a pastor. I also have been tempted with the like temptation of making this a question of personal feeling. One whole day, I remember, before meeting the elders and deacons of my church, before the first breaking out of this matter, I abode in the mind of giving way to my own feelings, and saying to them, 'Brethren, we have abidden now for so many years in love and unity, never, or hardly once, dividing on any question; that rather than cause divisions, which I see cannot be avoided, I will take my leave of you, and betake myself to other quarters, and other labours in the Church; and do you seek out for some one to come and stand in my room, to go in and out before this great people, and rule over them, for I can be no longer faithful to God, and preserve the body in peace and unity. I cannot find in my heart to grieve you; let me alone, and entreat me not; I will go and preach the gospel in other parts, whither God may call me.' In this mood, which these men would call honest and honourable, which I call selfish and treacherous to my Lord and Master, I did abide for the greater part of the most important day of my life, whereof the evening was to determine this great question; but the Lord showed me before the hour came. He showed me, with whom alone I took counsel in the secret place of my own heart, that I was not a private man to do what liked me best, but the pastor of a Church, to consider their well-being, and the minister of Christ, to whom I must render an account of my stewardship. I put away the temptation, and went up, in the strength of the Lord, to contend with the men whom I loved as my own bowels; and to tell them, face to face, that I would displease every one of them, yea, and hate every one of them, if need should be, rather than flinch one iota from my firm and rooted purpose, to live and die for Jesus. God only

knows the great searchings of heart which there have been within me for the divisions of the kirk-session and flock of the National Scotch Church. But they have rooted and grounded me in my standing as a pastor, which I had understood, but never practised before, and in the subordinate standing of an elder, which is very little understood in the Church of Scotland, whereof I am minister. And they have knit me to my flock in a bond which cannot be broken until God do break it. I preferred my duty as a pastor to my feelings as a man, and abode in my place. And what hath the faithfulness and bounty of my God yet done? Within six months thereafter, by the preaching of the word, and the witness of the Spirit, there were added two hundred members to the church; not a few of whom were converted from the very depths of immorality and vice, to become holy and God-fearing men; and as I sat yesterday in my vestry for nearly five hours examining applicants for the liberty of sitting down with my contemned and rejected church, I thought within myself, 'Ah! it was good thou stoodest here in the place where the Lord had planted thee, and wentest not forth from hence at the bidding of thine own troubled heart. Behold, what a harvest God hath given thee in this time of shaking! Wait on thy Lord, and be of good courage; commit thy way unto Him; trust in Him, and He will bring it to pass.' These were my thoughts, I do assure you, no further gone than yesterday, when I sat wearied out with the number and weight of the cases which were brought before me in my pastoral vocation. And for your encouragement, O ye ministers of Christ! who sit here in judgment, that ye may labour with good hope in this city, through good report, and through bad report, that ye may not put your hands rashly upon the man of God, and the work of God, I do give you to wit, that by my labours in this city, not hundreds, but thousands, at least upwards of a thousand, have been converted by my ministry; and I feel an assurance that, let men do their utmost to prevent it, thousands more will yet, by the same feeble and worthless instrument, be brought into the fold of the Father, out of which no power shall be able to pluck them. I have no bargain with these trustees. I am not their pensioner, nor bound to them by any obligation, nor indebted to them in any matter, that they should charge me with dishonesty. I am another man's servant, another man's debtor. Their debtor, indeed, I am, to preach to them the gospel, and to guide them, as their pastor, into the way of righteousness. If this deed, to which they have obliged themselves, compel them to raise an action against me before this Presbytery, then let them do it, and leave the issue to the competent judges; but do not let them dare to accuse their minister as a dishonest man, because he sees it his duty to his Maker, to

abide where his Maker hath placed him, and where he hath offended neither against the ordinances of God nor the covenants of man; and, on the other hand, if any trustee should see that in raising such an action, he doth offend against the laws of God, then let him not do it, and abide the consequences. For it is better to lose the right hand and the right eye both, than knowingly to offend against God. No action of a man in times past can bind him up in the time to come, that he should not always be at liberty to serve God. But this is not the place for handling these questions; and I conclude this topic of my adversary's speech, by solemnly charging the Presbytery that they be not beguiled into such short and summary views of the question before them. It is a question of deposition, the deposition of a minister, from those rights which, as a minister, belong to him. Now, ye know well what an onerous thing it is accounted by Christ and his Church, that a minister should be deposed by his Presbytery. Remember, I am a man of unblemished character; there is no charge against me of any kind; but the very contrary, the testimony of the other party to my blameless and faultless conversation amongst them unto this day. When this Presbytery rashly charged a book of mine with heresy, these very men, many of them, did come forward of their own accord to repel the charge, and vindicate me against a thousand malicious reports, as a true, and faithful, and orthodox minister of Christ. And bear ye in mind that ye are not at liberty to take up any matter but that which is exhibited in the charge of the trustees. Ye have me legally before you, not in your character of a Presbytery, but of referees under this deed; in that character, and that only, have you any power against me. The question is, simply, whether I, a pastor, shall be deposed from the Church, and deprived of my rights as a minister of Christ, because I have permitted that to take place in my church, which all the evidence upon your table concurreth to testify is the speaking of the Comforter, whom Christ promised as being to abide with his Church for ever, to lead her into all truth, and to show her things to come. Is this enough to incur deposition? Give heed to the question which is before you: as pastors having the hearts of pastors, as elders having the hearts of elders, can you conclude this day that a brother elder and pastor shall be deposed because he hath suffered the voice of the Comforter to be heard in the Church? This is the question which these men, by indictment and by testimony, have laid upon your table; it is before you, a Presbytery of the Church of Christ; and remember ye that it is not in a corner, but in this, the chiefest city of the world; before all Christendom, yea, before all nations; before the great Head of the Church, yea, and before the throne of the Majesty of God on high, that these matters are to be

adjudicated, and this issue to be tried and determined: namely, whether a blameless and unblemished man shall have the last censure of the Church pronounced upon him, and be deposed from his ministerial office, because he has allowed the voice of the Holy Ghost to be heard in his church; for I maintain that it is in evidence, on the table of the court, that it is the voice of the Holy Ghost that speaketh in the Church. Ah! there never was such an issue before any court — abstract justice being alone considered — as is now before this Court; where a body of trustees, stepping out of their proper place, have impugned their minister, placed over them by the great Head of this church, of a criminal act, in permitting God to speak in His own house; and you, a body of ministers and elders, acting under Christ for God, are called to give sentence.

"And here I must set aside a poor and pitiful evasion with which they would seek to beguile you from seeing the greatness of the issue which is this day joined between the parties. With great appearance of helpless meekness, they come forward and say that they cannot help themselves, they cannot avoid the responsibility imposed upon them by the trust-deed; and they come up, seeking from the Presbytery to be delivered from the dilemma in which they stand, being alike content, whichever way it be determined, so that they have exonerated themselves of their duty to their trust. To this I answer, with all plainness of speech, that they have altogether forgotten their place, through the deceitfulness of their own heart; and being supported by the force of public opinion, have gone aside from their trust, which hath nothing to do either with discipline or with doctrine, or with ordinances of any kind, but simply with this matter of fact, whether the minister be of the Church of Scotland, and the worship be according to the constitution of that Church. Leaving which, they have dared to bring me before the Presbytery, for changing no ordinance, for breaking down no constitution, for denying no point of orthodox doctrine, for abolishing no rule of discipline; and what business have they to interfere at all? I pronounce them daring intermeddlers with my sacred functions, which I will not yield up to any man; and if you have any honour of your office, or resentment of impertinent intrusion, you will send these men back again from your reverend bar, with an injunction to distinguish better hereafter between the office of a trustee over a building, and the oversight of the great Head of the Church over the angels of the Churches, whom He holdeth in His right hand. If I have not been guilty of a gross, yea, of a capital offence against my ministerial standing, these men have no case; they have no business here; they grieve me and they grieve you alike, by their impertinent forsaking of their trust, to meddle in things which are too high for

them. It is yours to teach trustees what their place is; and if you do not give them this lesson with all faithfulness, you shall, in the just visitation of God, be trodden and trampled upon by the men who attend to the secularities of your several chapels. I charge you, by the duty you owe to these men, as well as to me, and to yourselves; I charge you, by the sacred immunities of the ministerial office, by the sacredness of covenants, by the bands of justice, by the appointments of Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, and by the ordinances of Almighty God, that ye be not deceived by such wily words, but that ye bear upon your heart, and in your mind, what an awful issue it is that ye are called upon this day to decide. Ye shall not, surely, escape the consequences of this day's judgment, if ye should entertain these men's complaint against their minister, and remove me from the church where I abide in all faithfulness in the Lord. They will cleave to you while you live; they will cleave also to your flocks; and chiefly will they cleave to this ecclesiastical court. You will be borne awhile upon the gale of public opinion; you will please yourselves with the idea of having put down a delusion of Satan, and honours may fall upon you from your superiors in the Church; but when you shall see the spark which you have sought to smother, burst out into a flame, mighty to consume you, and all opposers of the Spirit of God; when ye find that cloud, about the bigness of a man's hand, which ye scoffed and mocked at, overspread the heavens, and pour down the torrents of the latter rain to fertilise the earth; when you see these despised fanatics grow into the mighty witnesses of God, who have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with plagues as often as they will; in what light will ye appear to the men whom ye have misled from the beginning of the glorious work, which ye thought too mean to give heed to, though it hath been pressed upon you by every consideration by which men can be moved? Oh! I am not careful for myself; but truly I am very careful for you, that you may not err in this great question which you are called upon to decide.

"The next charge made against me (for instead of answering my speech, the gentleman hath raised against me a series of the most momentous charges) is expressed in these words: 'He begged to call the attention of the reverend defender to the solemn Confession of Faith which he had signed, he believed, without any mental reservation; though he had told them that, if he had believed the signing of it would have prevented him preaching anything which he thought was right, he would not have signed it. Having been ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland, he had declared the Confession of Faith, ratified by law in the year 1690, to be the con-

fession of his faith, and that he owned the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine, which he would constantly adhere unto.' And if these words mean anything, their meaning is, that, in virtue of having subscribed to the Westminster Confession of Faith, my hands are bound up from permitting the voice of the Comforter from being heard in the church whereof I am pastor. It were sufficient to ask in what place of that Confession is that interdict laid upon me? and so to wait for a reply; for none was quoted in proof of so grave a charge. I am sure that no such injunction is to be found in the standards of the Westminster, or any other, divines since the world began. At most, all that could be produced out of these books is the declaration of the fact that the extraordinary gifts had ceased in the Church, and with them the extraordinary offices, in opposition to the Romanists, who maintained that they were still present. But waiving this question of fact, which had nothing to do with the matter, and upon which I am very much at one with them, where is the declaration that Almighty God neither would nor could ever again raise up these offices by again communicating these gifts to the Church? If there be any such declaration in the Westminster Confession, let them produce it; but till they produce it, I hold their insinuation to be no better than a gratuitous and empty assertion of their own, dishonouring me in your eyes, and tending to turn justice from its course. And, supposing that there were such a declaration in that Confession, I would immediately countervail it with the declaration in the Second Book of Discipline, that these extraordinary offices of evangelist, prophet, and apostle, God, for extraordinary purposes, might again raise up. And I would add, that the Westminster books were to be taken as in nothing prejudicial to the form of sound words and the canons of discipline, originally agreed upon by the Scottish Church, when she was ordering the house of God in that realm according to His word, and under no misleading views of uniformity with the English Presbyterians. I then would say the office of the prophet hath been revived of God, to meet the extraordinary emergencies of these times, wherein the whole of Christendom is receiving a last warning from the God of mercy, before meeting him as the God of judgment and revenge. The same is in testimony upon your table, out of the mouths of my accusers; and I call upon this Presbytery of ministers and elders of the Scotch Church, to examine whether it be so or not. Such is the firm basis of ecclesiastical as well as of Scriptural doctrine on which I have to rest this cause.

"But while I do thus argue for the truth's sake, and for the honour of our standards, which, be they what they may, have been most unjustly forced to do service in this cause against the Holy Ghost, I am

far from assenting to the doctrine which was stated in your hearing, and hath been vented by some of yourselves concerning the obligation involved in subscribing of articles; and, in a few words, I desire to expose the fallacy and evil tendency of the views on this subject, which I find to prevail almost universally in the minds of honest men. They seem to regard the Confession of Faith as the pillar and ground of the Church; whereas the Church itself is the pillar and ground not of the confession only, but of the truth itself. The Church hath no basis but the living and glorified Jesus, who is the fulness of the Godhead and the Head of His body the Church; from whom nothing can divide our allegiance in the least; no, not for a moment. Every book which the Church hath at any time stamped with its authority, the same Church doth stand above and not beneath, to take away its authority if it please, to let it fall into disuse, or entirely to abolish it. The book doth not stand over the persons, but the persons over the book. But most of the members of my session, and I perceive also of this Presbytery, and even of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, think the Church resteth wholly upon the basis of the Westminster Confession, and is cemented with that band; which is to sell both Christ and His people into the hands of a body of men who lived and acted some two hundred years ago. A confession of faith issued by any minister or body of ministers is good as their testimony for the truth against error, and may be adopted by the Church as a landmark in the midst of the wilderness of man's opinions; but the Church may not impose it upon men as an obligation Godward, seeing everything of that kind God hath Himself written and preserved in the Holy Scriptures. When I subscribe to it, I add my name to those that have gone before me, declaring that I believe the things which are written therein, and, as an honest man, will do and say nothing to the prejudice of what I believe. But my liberty as Christ's free man, my prerogative as Christ's minister and guardian of truth, remains unimpaired and unimpeached; for there existeth no power upon the earth which dareth to meddle with these, whereof the Church is the guardian, but in nowise the maker, or the mender, or the abolisher. And after subscribing that confession, I am just as much at liberty to compare and examine all its doctrines as before; and, finding fault in any of them, I am beholden unto Christ and to the Church to point out the same, and have it set to rights. And this I ought to do in all places, but especially in that corner of the vineyard committed to my care, among the people over whose souls I watch, in the meetings of the elders, of the ministers, in the synods and assemblies of the Church. For, as hath been said, the person is above the book, and not the book above

the person. It is not so with the Word of God, just because it is God's Word; it is so with every word of man, because it is man's word; for that man is not under man, but under God. The ecclesiastical courts in Scotland have, during the last three years, held more false doctrine and judged more wicked judgments on this matter, and more grieved God and Christ, and the generation of His children, than did the Council of Trent; and I would sooner be exiled from my native land, and excommunicated from my mother church, ay, and mewed up all my life in the dungeons of the Inquisition, than seal to such doctrines, or take part in such judgments, against which I have ever lifted up, and now again do lift up, my solemn protestation, as outrageous Popery, sanctified with the name of common honesty. The reason why such treasonable doctrine findeth currency among the ignorant, as nothing else than common honesty, is because they think that a confession of faith is like the charter of a corporation, and the signing of it by a minister is as an apprentice signing his indenture; they think it is like a deed of co-partnery, to violate which is a distinct infraction of honesty rectified by positive covenants. And the clergy, instead of teaching them better, know in general no better themselves, and head the hue-and-cry against every enlightened and sound churchman who declareth the true doctrine as laid down above. And so it is that, after all manner of arguments and expostulations, I am content for Christ's sake to lose my character and sit down under the foul charge of being a dishonest man. But while I am content to lose it, I will do all I can to keep it; and therefore I make no hesitation in declaring before you that I subscribed the Confession without any mental reservation or partial interpretation, having carefully read it, and pondered it, and consulted the minister of the parish when I stood in doubt. In subscribing it, I honestly declared it to be the confession of my faith, and never at any time did say or meditate anything to its hurt. But, being a Christian and a Protestant, I subscribed it as itself directeth, not as being absolute truth, self-vouching, but truth under the correction of the Holy Scriptures, whereto it desireth to be brought for examination, and by which I will ever try it. Indeed, I have, since I subscribed it, thought little about the matter, being intent altogether upon the right knowledge and declaration of God's mind, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. Only I have made it a rule to read it, in the hearing of the Church, once or twice in a year; which I am resolved to do no more, because it is the word of fallible man, and not of the living God. Yet do I not feel burdened by having subscribed it; but walk in great liberty with respect to it, keeping it far, far in the background of my mind, neither troubling myself nor my people concerning it. Only when I have had to

handle a matter controverted, I have taken it as evidence of what the Church thought upon the subject in that day. I grieve over the bondage and dishonesty of my brethren in these times; their bondage in declaring that a man's preaching should be guided by the Confession, as if he were a preacher of man's word, and not of God's word; as if the Westminster Confession were to say to the Holy Ghost in the preacher, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther;' their hypocrisy, in that, saying thus, not one of them hath ever acted on, or ever doth act upon it; forasmuch, I believe, that no book in the English language hath been more out of the mind of preachers in the pulpit or in the closet than the Westminster Confession of Faith, whereof, till it became a convenient weapon for dashing out the brains of faithful ministers, far more than half of the clergy were ignorant despisers or hearty haters. Oh, the hypocrisy, the seven-fold hypocrisy, of this generation of churchmen! I abhor the hypocrisy with which they perpetrate their wickedness far more than the wickedness itself. They lovers of the Westminster Confession of Faith, forsooth! A great part of them know nothing about it, and a still greater part heartily dislike it. Oh, I know Scotland too well, and have looked into the bosom of the priesthood too narrowly, to be taken with that cant about the Confession! But what, it may be said, hath this to do with the matter in hand? It is the spontaneous boiling up of my indignation against the mummery which they have set up in order to catch the honest-minded people of this land into their snares, and carry their verdict along with them in the persecution of the most worthy men which the Church of Scotland hath for long ages produced; yea, men in some of whom the primitive gifts of the prophet and the evangelist have been revived. My heart boileth, and fury cometh into my face, when I think of the way in which the people have been hounded on to the slaughter of the most famous men in the congregation. But a higher end than the expression of my indignation moveth me in what I have said concerning the treasonable doctrine advanced to you respecting confessions of faith. It is my firm and rooted conviction that by these acts of setting up the book of men in judgment over Christ's ministers, as they have done, and by insisting that no evidence should be grounded upon the Scriptures, as ye have done, both ye and they have sealed yourselves Babylon, and have set up the abomination which maketh desolate in the holy place. For what is your Confession, taken at the best, but the skilful device of man's wit? With all its doctrines and its canons, with all its distinctions and divisions, what is it but the device of man? And when ye set it in the pulpit, and in the place of judgment, in the house of God, and in the meetings of elders, what

is it but your idol, the image of jealousy, your drag and net to which you sacrifice your sons and daughters, yea, the rulers and chief men of the Lord's congregation? I believe, by the way in which you have set up that book of about two hundred years' standing, in the place of and above God's word, ye have done an act which, if not repented of, will seal you up in darkness and in deadness, in apostasy, and the worship of Antichrist. And being myself the head of a congregation, and a standard-bearer in the Church, I do solemnly denounce you as in arms against the King, and lead forth my squadron from the midst of you, to do battle no longer by your side, but against you, until you do change your ensign, and fight under the banner of the Word of God.

"Do I therefore secede or separate myself and my church from the Church of Scotland? Verily no: but from a degenerate race of her rulers, who are unworthy of the name, and have sold themselves to do iniquity with greediness, and to draw sin as with a cart rope. The Church of Christ, within the realms of Scotland, is now of at least 1600 years standing, and subsisted in great glory before the stream of the Reformation, in times when her children went forth and planted the Gospel in the dark regions of the world, amidst the fierce and unconquered nations who overwhelmed the Roman empire; when her ministers went forth into the court of Christian Emperors, and warned them against the Bishop of Rome, and watched and exposed him, and denounced him the enemy of Christ in all the nations of Christendom. I am a minister of that Church which received into its bosom the persecuted Britons, fleeing from the murderous decrees of Diocletian, which received the Culdees from Ireland, and maintained her independence of Rome for centuries after the other Churches had sold themselves into bondage. Nor do I disparage the work of Knox and the Reformers, when I set it down as but the brazen age of the Church, now degenerated into the age of iron. And this age of iron was, I think, introduced by that same Westminster Confession, which received royal authority at the revolution. Knox, and the men of his time, raised up a noble protestation against the Papacy, and ordered the Church according to righteousness in her discipline, and in her doctrine coming behind none of the reformed Churches. But the Reformers were too intent upon the mere negation of Popery, and upon the emancipation of the civil estate of Kings and peoples, upon leagues and covenants constructed for the preservation of what they had made good. They lacked discernment in the truth of God; they digged not deep enough in the Holy Scriptures; they saw not the glorious privileges of the Church, her spiritual gifts and supernatural endowments, the coming and kingdom of the

Lord, and the blessed offices of the ever-present Comforter. I am in no wise fettered by their shortcomings, I have no homage to offer at their shrines, but in my liberty of Christ's free-man, in my prerogative of Christ's minister, I am intent upon the knowledge and faith of all the truth written in His holy word, and do perceive a work arising into view which will far surpass the work of Reformation, and bring back the best days of the Church. I make no doubt that the Lord is hearing the prayers and rewarding the labours of his servants, and bringing to pass all the promises of the glory of the latter day. Ye are this day either to exert yourselves for or against this blessed work; either to stand with it and prosper, or to stand against it and be overwhelmed. Small are its beginnings, but faith apprehendeth its great and glorious ending. The cloud, like a man's hand, hath appeared; and the heavens shall soon be black with clouds, the earth moistened with rain, and all her fields clothed with plenty.

"Having thus followed the reply of the complainers, topic by topic, I trust you will permit me to add one word in conclusion, in order to express what I feel towards them, the prosecutors, and towards you, the judges in this cause. Though they know it not, and are far from thinking it, I know, and feel, and declare that they are enemies of the cross of Christ in that which they have done; and if they persist in it, they must draw down upon themselves the wrath and indignation of Almighty God. My counsel to them, therefore, is instantly to withdraw their suit out of court, as they wish to prosper in this world, and that which is to come. And this request I make of them the more earnestly, because I do not feel that I am personally much concerned in it. They have impeached me of nothing, but have spoken both courteously and honourably of me, in the hearing of this court, and on all other occasions. It is the work of the Holy Ghost which they have set themselves against, whereof I am but a poor instrument to justify and defend it; and against the rights and dignity of the Christian ministry, in my person represented, they have conspired together, under the pretended sanction of a trust-deed. Enemies they are in this act of the Lord Jesus and of the Holy Ghost; whose enemies I may not take for my friends, but as enemies must henceforth regard them. For I hold it to be the sacrifice of God's honour upon the altar of worldly prudence, or personal courtesy, for any servant of the Lord to call one who is actively setting himself against God, by any other name than his enemy, and as such to entreat him. I cannot any more give to these men the right hand of fellowship, or go forward in company with them to any work. Until they repent of their sin, and turn themselves unto the Lord, with confession and contrition, I must

hold them for my enemies, because they are risen up against my King. And thus also must I carry myself to all those ministers and elders of the Church, who have risen up against God's truth in my native land, and smitten from the altar where they ministered, the chosen ones of God's priesthood. It is a vain thing, and a wicked, to make distinctions between my personal friends and God's; neither will I do it any more, being mindful of the example of Christ, and of the words spoken of him by the Holy Ghost, in the Book of Psalms: 'Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee; and am I not grieved with those that rise up against thee? I hate them with perfect hatred. I count them mine enemies" (Psalm cxxxix. 21, 22). I would that the trustees, my brethren, heretofore my friends, and most of them of my flock, might not be offended in this, because I love them not the less; for my enemies I have learned to love, and for them I desire at all times to be willing to die. But whatever offence it may cause them, it is better to offend man than to offend God. I bear them no malice, but contrariwise love; and the first act in which that love doth show itself, is an act of honest testimony that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ, and are entered on a course of withstanding the Holy Ghost, which will bring them to perdition, if they return not from it to serve the living and true God, whose voice in His Church they are this day combined to suppress. I could fall down before them, and beseech them; yea, I could weep before them, and wash their feet with my tears, for the love I bear their souls, and their wives, and their little ones, if only I might thereby prevail to turn them back from their pernicious ways. If, by anything which I have spoken, I have caused them grief and sorrow, I rejoice if their grief be for the sin they have done in moving for authority to cast out the Spirit and minister of the Lord Jesus Christ; but if, which I rather fear, it be only the natural shame of having their evil deeds exposed, which grieveth them, I pray them to look away from the eye of man, to the eye of God, which is this day bended upon them with looks of mingled anger and mercy. In no way could they have so grieved and offended Him as in this which they have taken; but still there is mercy, if they will repent of their sins, and lie low in the dust before Him. I am much troubled in spirit for you, oh, my brethren! who have now become my enemies, though you all joyfully and plentifully partook of the spiritual bread which I have long broken in the midst of you. Oh, ye have grievously offended me, ye have grievously offended your God! Seek repentance, and withdraw this evil suit from the court of the Presbytery. I will not cease to pray that God will grant you repentance unto the acknowledgment of the truth; otherwise, ye will surely perish in

your sins. I say it again, ye know it not, but surely ye are the enemies of the Lord your God in this matter.

"And now, to you, O ministers and elders of the Presbytery, before whom God hath condescended to take witness, and to plead in this cause, bringing before you four of the orders of His Church, a minister, a prophet, an elder, and a deacon, and through their lips testifying in your ears that He hath returned in grace and mercy to His Church, and is speaking in the midst thereof by the mouth of the Holy Ghost! reckon ye that He hath put upon you an honour, and shown you a love, whereof ye are altogether unworthy; because He is gracious, and His mercy endureth for ever. You have wearied him in times past with your iniquities, whereof I stand here a witness, rejected from amongst you for holding, and publishing abroad, the most glorious truths of His incarnation in this our fallen flesh; and ye have this day added a still greater provocation, in that ye have refused, with one voice, to permit a question of the most awful importance from being judged according to His most Holy Word. Fain would I that you might revoke with shame and sorrow that unprecedented act of contempt towards the Word of your God, which He doth magnify above all His name, in order that you might enter with pure hands and a clean heart into the judgment of this mighty issue. Do not gloze it over to the eye of your conscience by saying, as your Moderator did, that it was for the honour of the standards, and not against the Word of God, ye stood up. There was no mention of the standards in my lips, nor thought of them in my mind; no one was calling them into question. I did but ask whether the thing manifested in our Church answered to the thing written of in the Scriptures, when, lion-like, ye rushed with one mouth upon me, as if I had appealed to Satan's oracles. It was a fearful deed, and being gravely deliberate, for you submitted it as a question to the court, and heard their opinions *seriatim*, it is the most black record of wickedness which this day the eye of Heaven doth look upon — a gratuitous insult to the Word of our God, and a planting in the stead thereof the abomination that maketh desolate. For the most excellent work of men, yea, and of God himself, when planted in the place and stead of His Word — in the holy place of judgment and ecclesiastical government — becometh straightway the abomination which maketh desolate. I cannot suffer you to pass on to judgment without beseeching you to revoke that gratuitous insult to your God. How else can you expect the Holy Ghost to sit in council with you, without whom you are no Presbytery of the Church of Christ? And how can we expect, in the thing which is questioned, ye will give impartial justice, if ye, in the thing that is unquestioned, do offer deliberate insult unto your God? There may be a question, even

with pious but uninformed minds, whether these be the very manifestations of the Holy Ghost; but no question is there, or can there be, that this book is the Word of God. And if ye refuse reverence and weight of any sort in this cause to these undoubted oracles of God, how can ye give any weight to the testimony of men, however clear—to the pleading of a man, however strong? Nor doth it matter to me though I should get your verdict on my side, if, at the same sitting, my God should get a verdict against Him. I cannot, I will not rejoice; I must sit down by the rivers of Babylon, and weep over the miserable fall and ruin of those with whom I went in company to the house of God, and took sweet counsel together. Why will ye thus, for no cause, grieve the Spirit of your God? Why will ye trample His laws and His statutes, which make the simple wise, under your feet? Who will thank you for that? The Scottish Reformers will repudiate you from their company with horror; and all Christian men of this day will do likewise; and your flocks will pine and perish; and all honest men will wonder and be amazed when they hear that out of a court of judgment the Word of God was cast wilfully and deliberately; that the court where it was done was a court of Christ's Church; and the occasion, when they were sitting in judgment, the work of the Holy Ghost, by whom that Book was given, for the guide and measure of His operations. I am indeed amazed and astonied at you: I am ashamed and terribly afraid: I could almost arise and run for my life from beneath the roof which overcanopied the perpetrators of such a wickedness. It is not to be reckoned up. The sum of it is only surpassed by the mercy and forgiveness of our God, where I do cast you with prayers and supplications and strong cryings, that it might not be reckoned against you. Oh! it is such a blind as will entirely cover up justice whichever way the Presbytery may decide. But, oh! I cannot think of your deciding against me; I cannot entertain the thought of it. It goes to my heart to put the supposition. Not because it is against me, but because it is against the truth. It is not I that am decided against, but it is you, the pastors and elders of churches, that are decided against. You stand as the representatives of the congregation; and if you err, the judgment falleth on the congregation and the Church; for Christ holdeth the angel as the representative of the Church. Far be such evil from my brethren: from my enemies far be it. By dismissing the complaint the trustees entertain no loss—they have exonerated their conscience as they plead—and there is no evil done to any one. But, oh! I set no store by these considerations! I would not mention consequences in such an issue. I have not done the part of a pleader, nor will do it, save to plead for the Word and Spirit of God. I do merely point

to the opposite consequences of entertaining or rejecting the complaint; but, lest any one may think that I am doing the part of a special pleader, I put that away. Show me what I have done contrary to the Word of God, contrary to the office of a minister of Christ, contrary even to the standards of the Church; then show that the offence is of such a magnitude as cannot otherwise be healed than by deposition, and, without troubling you, I will contentedly go forth. There is no complaint here of elders or deacons, or flock or congregation, concerning their souls or my ministry; but simply of the trustees over a building. And what have they instructed in evidence, but that I have permitted the Holy Ghost's voice to be heard in the Church, without prejudice to any person, or to any ordinance? That you should entertain such a complaint, that you should justify it, that you should ratify it, I cannot endure to think, and cannot speak under that supposition. Wherefore I do just leave it in the hands of God, and in the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, to do with me and my flock and congregation what He pleaseth; but never, never, oh God! and oh, thou Head of the Church! never suffer this court of ministers and elders, for their own souls' sake, for any advantage, even though it were to gain the whole earth, to decide that the voice of Thy Spirit shall not be heard in Thy Church! Amen."

THE END.

LONDON

PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.

NEW-STREET SQUARE

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018